







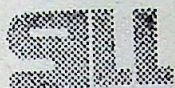


*With the Compliments of the Author*









SERIES IN INDIAN LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS —IX

LINGUISTIC STUDIES  
IN  
KASHMIRI

Omkar N. Koul



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# **Linguistic Studies in Kashmiri**

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Patiala 147002

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## Preface

With an increasing interest for learning Kashmiri by non-native speakers, there is an urgent need for the preparation of instructional materials in this language. Some efforts have already been made in this direction. Recently some pedagogically oriented materials in Kashmiri have been prepared by Professor Braj B. Kachru at the University of Illinois. His publications include *A Reference Grammar of Kashmiri* and *An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri*. The Central Institute of Indian Languages has produced a *Kashmiri Phonetic Reader*, *Hindi-Kashmiri Common Vocabulary Intensive*, *Intermediate*, and *Advanced* Courses in Kashmiri. These materials are being used for teaching Kashmiri as a second language at the Northern Regional Language Centre, Patiala.

The Kashmiri language has not yet been studied in detail. There is a vast scope for linguistic studies in this language. The current book *Linguistic Studies in Kashmiri* presents description of some aspects of the Kashmiri language. Most of these studies have emerged out of notes prepared for teaching Kashmiri to non-native speakers. This book includes chapters on The Noun Phrase, The Adjective Phrase, The Auxiliary, The Verb Phrase, Questions, Coordinate Conjunction, Reduplication, Kinship Terms and Lexical Borrowings. The chapters on The Noun Phrase and Questions are based on two articles published earlier by the author. The materials presented in this book are pedagogically oriented. It is hoped that the book will prove helpful to non-native speakers in understanding certain syntactic and other aspects of the Kashmiri language. The book also may be used by teachers of Kashmiri in developing instructional materials for teaching the Kashmiri language to non-native speakers.

It is beyond the scope of this book to provide exhaustive description of the topics discussed in it. Keeping in view the aim

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of the book, an attempt has been made to provide descriptions of different aspects of the Kashmiri language in as simple words as possible, and minute theoretical details have been avoided. All the aspects of the Kashmiri language discussed in this book need an elaborate investigation. It is hoped that present descriptions in the form of preliminary remarks will initiate serious linguistic research work on these aspects in the future.

I am grateful to Professors Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru and Girdhari L. Tikku of the University of Illinois for their encouragement, help and guidance during my period of stay at the University of Illinois.

I owe special gratitude to Dr. D. P. Pattanayak, Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages for his encouragement and guidance which has enabled me to bring out this book in its present form. I would like to thank Mr. Charles J. Hall for his useful comments on certain portions of this book.

Omkar N. Koul

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September 5, 1977



# Transliteration

The Roman transliteration used in this book for the speech sounds in Kashmiri is as follows :

| Vowels     | Front     | Central   | Back    |
|------------|-----------|-----------|---------|
|            | Unrounded | Unrounded | Rounded |
| High       | i:        | i, i:     | u:      |
| Lower High | i         |           | u       |
| Mid        | e, e:     | ə, ə:     | o       |
| Lower Mid  |           | a         | o:      |
| Low        |           | a:        | ɔ       |

N Following a vowel indicates nasalization of vowel. e.g.,  
da:nɔ 'bull' vu:nθ 'camel'

: Following a vowel indicates that the vowel is long. e.g.,  
gu:r 'milkman', mo:r 'peacock'

## Consonants

|                       | Bilabial | Dental | Alveolar | Retroflex | Palato-alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------------------|----------|--------|----------|-----------|-----------------|---------|-------|---------|
| <i>Stops</i>          |          |        |          |           |                 |         |       |         |
| Voiceless unaspirated | p        | t      |          | ɽ         |                 |         | k     |         |
| Voiceless aspirated   | ph       | th     |          | ɽh        |                 |         | kh    |         |
| Voiced unaspirated    | b        | d      |          | ɽ         |                 |         | g     |         |
| <i>Affricates</i>     |          |        |          |           |                 |         |       |         |
| Voiceless unaspirated |          |        | ts       |           | c               |         |       |         |
| Voiceless aspirated   |          |        | tsh      |           | ch              |         |       |         |
| Voiced unaspirated    |          |        |          |           | j               |         |       |         |
| <i>Nasals</i>         | m        |        | n        |           |                 |         |       |         |
| <i>Fricatives</i>     |          |        |          |           |                 |         |       |         |
| Voiceless             |          |        | s        |           |                 |         | ʃh    | h       |
| Voiced                |          |        | z        |           |                 |         |       |         |
| <i>Lateral</i>        |          |        | l        |           |                 |         |       |         |
| <i>Trill</i>          |          |        | r        |           |                 |         |       |         |
| <i>Flap</i>           |          |        |          | ɾ         |                 |         |       |         |
| <i>Semi-Vowels</i>    |          | v      |          |           |                 | y       |       |         |

' Following a consonant indicates palatalization of the  
consonant, e.g., g'ayun 'to sing, n'un 'to take' etc.

## Abbreviations and Symbols

|        |               |         |               |
|--------|---------------|---------|---------------|
| Adj    | Adjective     | N       | Noun          |
| Adv    | Adverb        | NP      | Noun Phrase   |
| Aux    | Auxiliary     | non-hon | Non-honorific |
| CV     | Copula Verb   | Pa      | Past          |
| Comp V | Compound Verb | Per     | Person        |
| Cond   | Conditional   | Pl/p    | Plural        |
| Conj V | Conjunct Verb | Perf    | Perfect       |
| Fem    | Feminine      | Pres    | Present       |
| Fu     | Future        | Prog    | progressive   |
| hon    | Honorific     | Sg/s    | Singular      |
| Imper  | Imperfect     | T       | Tense         |
| Int    | Intransitive  | Tr      | Transitive    |
| M      | Modal         | V       | Verb          |
| Mas/m  | Masculine     | VP      | Verb Phrase   |
| MV     | Main Verb     |         |               |

// Phonemic transcription

\* Precedes ungrammatical and unacceptable expressions



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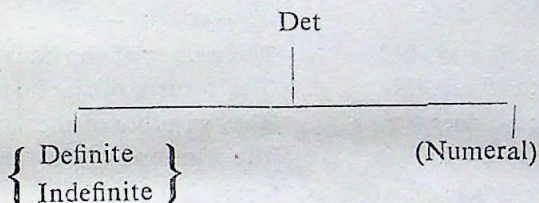
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## The Noun Phrase

1.0. The Noun Phrase in Kashmiri may consist of three constituents : Determiner, Noun, and Number.

1.1 The Determiner elements may be classified as Definite, Indefinite or Numeral :



Definite determiners include the specified demonstratives, possessive nouns and possessive pronouns.

There is a three term distinction in the demonstratives in Kashmiri e.g., (1) proximate, (2) remote (within sight) and (3) remote (out of sight). Following is the chart of demonstratives in Kashmiri :

|                          | Masculine |             | Feminine |      |
|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|----------|------|
|                          | Sg.       | Pl.         | Sg.      | Pl.  |
| Proximate                | yi 'this' | yim 'these' | yi       | yimi |
| Remote<br>(within sight) | hu 'that' | hum 'those' | ho       | humi |
| Remote<br>(out of sight) | su 'that' | tim 'those' | so       | timi |

Possessive Nouns are formed by adding possessive suffixes to the nouns agreeing in number and gender with object. If the subject noun is an animate human being, following are the suffixes added to it :

| Masculine     |            | Feminine      |                 |
|---------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Sg.           | Pl.        | Sg.           | Pl.             |
| —un           | —in'       | —in'          | —ini            |
| ra:mun necuv  | Ram's son  | ra:min' ku:r  | Ram's daughter  |
| ra:min' neciv | Ram's sons | ra:mini ko:ri | Ram's daughters |

In case, the subject noun is inanimate, following are the suffixes added to it :

| Masculine         |      | Feminine                 |      |
|-------------------|------|--------------------------|------|
| Sg.               | Pl.  | Sg.                      | Pl.  |
| —uk               | —ik' | —ic                      | —ici |
| maka:nuk mæ:likh  |      | The owner of the house   |      |
| maka:nik' mæ:likh |      | The owners of the house  |      |
| maka:nic dæ:r     |      | The window of the house  |      |
| maka:nici dæ:ri   |      | The windows of the house |      |

Besides the two types of suffixes, forms of **hund** and **sund** are also used as genitive markers. If the masculine singular subject noun is animate and it ends in the vowel *i* or palatalized consonant, the following forms of **sund** are used with the subject noun agreeing in number and gender with the object :

| Masculine          |                          | Feminine |       |
|--------------------|--------------------------|----------|-------|
| Sg.                | Pl.                      | Sg.      | Pl.   |
| sund               | sind'                    | sinz     | sinzi |
| lærki sund gari    | The house of the boy     |          |       |
| lærki sind' do:s   | The friends of the boy   |          |       |
| mæ:l' sinz gær     | The watch of the father  |          |       |
| bæ:y sinzi kita:bi | The books of the brother |          |       |

If the subject noun is animate/inanimate feminine singular or if the subject is masculine/feminine plural (ending in **—an**) the following forms of **hund** are used as suffixes :

| Masculine |       | Feminine |       |
|-----------|-------|----------|-------|
| Sg.       | Pl.   | Sg.      | Pl.   |
| hund      | hind' | hinz     | hinzi |



|                       |                              |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| ko:ri hund bu:th      | Shoes of the girl            |
| ko:ri hīnd' palav     | Clothes of the girl          |
| ko:ri hīnz dāj        | The handkerchief of the girl |
| ko:ri hīnzi sa:ri     | The saris of the girl        |
| maka:nan hund mə:likh | The owner of the houses      |

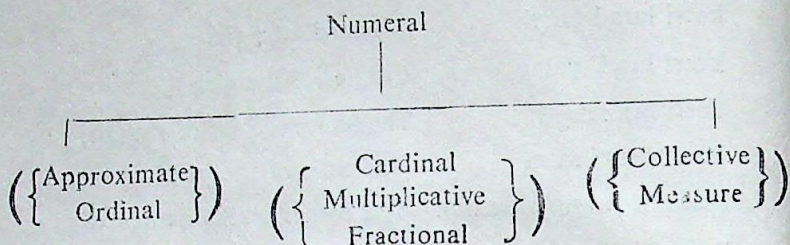
Possessive pronouns agree with the object in number, gender and person and with subject in number. Following is the chart of the possessive pronouns in Kashmiri :

| Masculine             |            | Feminine      |              |
|-----------------------|------------|---------------|--------------|
| Sg.                   | Pl.        | Sg.           | Pl.          |
| 1 Per (Sg. ) m'o:n    | me:n'      | me:n'         | m'a:ni       |
| (Pl. ) so:n           | sə:n'      | sə:n'         | sa:ni        |
| 2 per (Sg. ) co:n     | cə:n'      | cə:n'         | ca:ni        |
| (Pl. ) tuhund         | tuhīnd'    | tuhīnd'       | tuhīnzi      |
| 3 Per (Sg. ) təm'sund | təm'sīnd'  | təm'sīnz      | təm'sīnzi    |
| ( Pl. ) timanhund     | timanhīnd' | timanhīnz     | timanhīnzi   |
| (Sg. ) huhund         | huhīnd'    | huhīnz        | huhīnzi      |
| ( Pl. ) humanhund     | humanhīnd' | humanhīnz     | humanhīnzi   |
| m'o:n kalam           | My pen     | so:n gari     | Our home     |
| me:n' sandu:kh        | My boxes   | sə:n' maka:ni | Our houses   |
| me:n' gər             | My watch   | sə:n' ga:v    | Our cow      |
| m'a:ni gari           | My watches | sa:ni shakli  | Our pictures |

The Indefinite determiners in Kashmiri are *akh* 'a,' *kenh* 'a few' *kanh* 'any' etc.

|                                     |                              |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>akh shur o:s asa:n</i>           | A child was laughing         |
| <i>kenh lərki ə:s' sho:r kara:n</i> | A few boys were making noise |
| <i>kanh kita:b an</i>               | Bring any book               |

Numeral in Kashmiri may be divided into different categories. Numerals may be divided into approximate, ordinals, multiplicatives, fractional, collectives, and measure as follows:



The examples of approximates are *lagbag* 'about,' *kəri:b* 'almost,' *phakath* 'only,' etc. Ordinals are *gəðin'uk* 'first,' *dəyim* 'second,' *treyim* 'third' *tsu:rim* 'fourth', etc. The examples of fractionals are *od* 'half', *treyimhisi* 'one third', *tsu:rimhisi* 'one fourth' etc. Collectives are *jur* 'pair,' *darjan* 'dozen' etc. Measures are *kilo* 'kilograms', *od kilo* 'half a kilo', etc.

Following are the possible combinations of the constituents of Determiner:

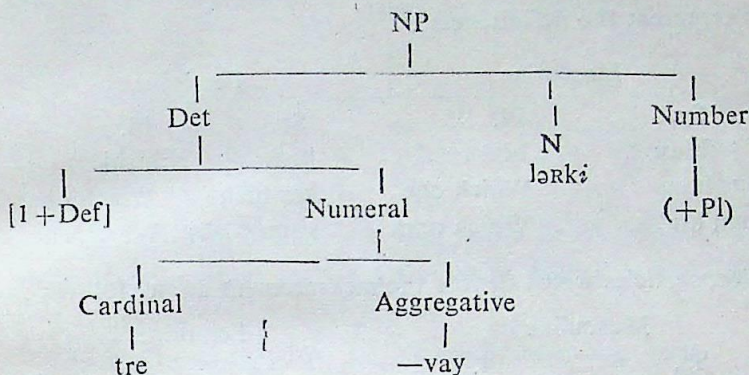
- (a) Definite + Ordinal + N  
*gəðin'uk shur*                      The first child
- (b) Definite + Cardinal + N  
*hum pa:ntsh marid*                  Those five men
- (c) Definite + Ordinal + Cardinal + N  
*yim gəðinik' zi shur'*              These first two children
- (d) Definite + Cardinal + Collective  
*yim tre darjan thu:l*                These three dozen eggs
- (e) Definite + Cardinal + Measure  
*hum zi kilo : tomul*                Those two kilograms of rice

The numerical forms such as *dəshivay* 'both' *treshivay* 'all the three' *tsəshivay* 'all the four', *pa:ntshivay* 'all the five' etc. are formed by adding certain aggregative elements to the cardinals, which undergo certain phonological changes. Following are the sentences with definite determiner and the derived numerical forms:

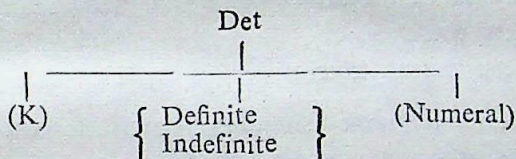
- treshivay lərki chi prən'*              All the three boys are fair complexioned
- pa:ntshivay ko:ri chi sondar*          All the five girls are pretty



The Structure of these examples is as follows :



By certain phonological rules we get *treshivay lərki*. Determiner may include question elements. Here the question element will be represented by  $\kappa$ . The Determiner may now be constituted as:



The examples of the NP which contains a question element are :

|                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| kus (h'uv) kul    | Which tree     |
| kəs (hish) ku:r   | Which girl     |
| ku:t/ko:tah tomul | How much rice  |
| kə:tsa: zana:nī   | How many women |

It is the combination of the question element ( $\kappa$ ) with other elements of NP which formulates the question morphemes, such as *kus*, *həs*, *ku:t*, etc.

Following are the question morphemes which agree with the noun in number and gender :

| Masculine |                | Feminine   |             |
|-----------|----------------|------------|-------------|
| Sg.       | Pl.            | Sg.        | Pl.         |
| kus       | kam            | kəs        | kam         |
| kus shur  | Which child    | kəs ku:r   | Which girl  |
| kus kul   | Which tree     | kamī ko:ri | Which girls |
| kam shur  | Which children |            |             |

These question particles are followed by the following elements which represent the definiteness :

| Masculine |            | Feminine   |            |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
| Sg.       | Pl.        | Sg.        | Pl.        |
| h'uv      | hiv'       | hish       | hishi      |
| kus h'uv  | Which one  | kos hish   | Which one  |
| kam hiv'  | Which ones | kami hishi | Which ones |

Question particles which denote the measurement are as follows :

| Masculine            |         | Feminine       |         |
|----------------------|---------|----------------|---------|
| Sg.                  | Pl.     | Sg.            | Pl.     |
| ko :tah              | kə:t'ah | ki:tsah        | kə:tsah |
| ku:t                 | ki:t'   | ki:ts          | ki:tsi  |
| ku:t/ko:tah tomul    |         | How much rice  |         |
| ki:t'/kə:t'ah lərki  |         | How many boys  |         |
| ki:ts/ki:tsah kə:m   |         | How much work  |         |
| ki:tsi/kə:tsah ko:ri |         | How many girls |         |

Masculine and feminine singular forms are used only with uncountable mass nouns according to an appropriate gender of the noun.

Question particles which denote the quality of the nouns are as follows :

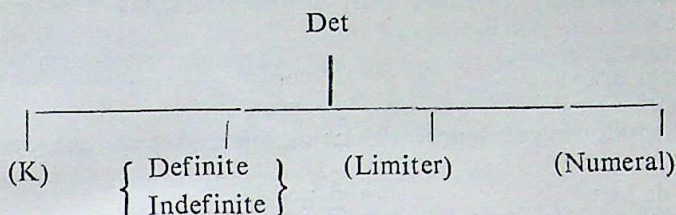
| Masculine   |                   | Feminine     |                     |
|-------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Sg.         | Pl.               | Sg.          | Pl.                 |
| k'uth       | kith'             | kitsh        | kitshi              |
| k'uth tomul | What kind of rice | kitsh ku:r   | What type of a girl |
| kith' lərki | What type of boys | kitshi ko:ri | What type of girls. |

Note that these question particles can be used for specifying the colour, quality, category etc.

|             |               |              |             |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| k'uth rang  | Which colour  | kitsh kəmi:z | Which shirt |
| kith' palav | Which clothes | kitshi da:ri | Which dolls |

The Determiner may also contain limiter expression and on that basis the Determiner may be expanded as :





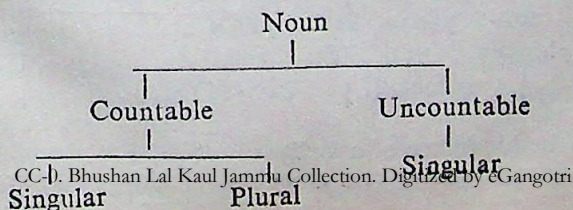
The following limiters are used in Kashmiri: **phakath/khə:li:/siriph** 'only', (yutuy) **yo:t** 'only this' **yemi bagə:r ti** 'besides this', **ti** 'also.'

|  |                                  |
|--|----------------------------------|
| me.ən' phakath/khə:li:/<br>siriph zi thu:l | I brought two eggs only          |
| me chu yutuy yo:t                          | I have this much only            |
| ra:miy yo:t yi: pagah                      | Only Rama will come tomorrow     |
| mohani ti va:ti yot az                     | Mohan will also reach here today |

It is to be noted that many nouns including most proper nouns do not occur with the Determiner. In these cases the Determiner is null or zero. In the structure of NPs either we can mark the Determiner as optional or specify it by a null value in such cases.

|                            |                       |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| ra:man pari yimi kita:bi   | Rama read these books |
| ra:man pari $\phi$ kita:bi | Ram read books        |

**1.2. Noun and Number Co-occurrence :** Nouns can be divided into two groups: countable and uncountable nouns. Countable nouns always occur with number. There are two numbers in kashmiri: singular and plural. Thus the countable nouns may either be singular or plural. Uncountable nouns are used in the form of singular although they are not singular in meaning. This can be represented graphically as :





The following sentences with countable nouns are grammatical :

zi maka:n chi yeti

There are two houses here

zi lərki dray:yi

Two boys left

tsi kar zi ka:mi

You do two jobs

The following sentences with countable nouns are not grammatical :

\* zi dōd an

\* Bring two milk

\* tse chiy ni zi ta:kath

\* You donot have two strength

\* tōmis chani zi h'amath

He does not have two courages

Although the following sentences are grammatical :

zi kilo dōd an

Bring two kilos of milk

tse chuy ni x en ta:kath

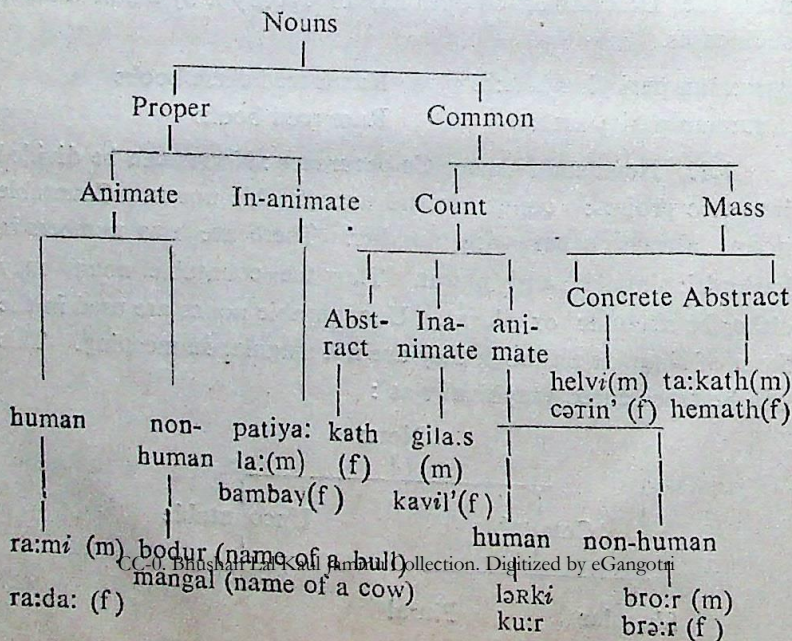
You do not have any strength

tōmis chani kanh hemath

He does not have any courage

Under the category of uncountable nouns fall different types of liquids, things that occur in particles, some types of concrete and abstract nouns etc. For example: po:n 'water' hava: 'wind' garid 'dust', mets, 'clay', sekhh 'sand' sreshtir 'iron', hemath 'courage', ta:kath 'strength'. It is incorrect to say akh po:n 'one water' zi po:n 'two waters,' for these.

1.3. The Co-occurrence of Nouns with Verbs: There are strong semantic ties that bind the subject and object and nouns with verbs. Regarding the Co-occurrence of subject and object nouns with verbs in Kashmiri, it is important to mention certain features of nouns as under :





All Nouns are either masculine or feminine, the examples are given in the diagram above. The Noun-features for both the genders remain same. These features are important in specifying the co-occurrence restrictions between the Nouns and Verbs etc. The examples of co-occurrence restrictions between Determiners and Nouns have already been discussed above.

It is to be mentioned here that the count nouns are inflected for number but the mass nouns are not inflected for number. The following are grammatical sentences in Kashmiri :

|                     |                             |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| shur gav sku:l      | The child went to school    |
| shur' gayi sku:l    | The children went to school |
| ku:r a:yi va:pas    | The girl came back          |
| ko:ri a:yi va:pas   | The girls came back         |
| yi kath cha ja:n    | This story is good          |
| yim' kath' chi ja:n | These stories are good      |
| tha:l p'a:v pathar  | The palate fell down        |
| tha:l peyi pathar   | The palates fell down       |

The mass nouns are always used as singular items and the agreement is between the Verb and Noun in gender. For example :

|                        |                                |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| than' chi ja:n         | The butter is good             |
| tsa:man peyi pather    | The cheese fell down           |
| hemath gatshi karin'   | One should display his courage |
| sehath chu dan davlath | Health is wealth               |

If the mass nouns are used in plural form, the results will be illformed sentences :

For example :

- |                        |                          |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| * thani chi ja:n       | * hemati gatshan karni   |
| * tsa:mini peyi pathar | * sehath chi dan davlath |

**1.4. Noun Modification :** Besides definite/indefinite demonstratives and numerals, Nouns in Kashmiri may be modified by







are derived from the following copula sentences :

|                 |   |                     |
|-----------------|---|---------------------|
| lökut me:z      | → | me:z chu lökut      |
| The small table |   | The table is small  |
| krih'in' kəmi:z | → | kəmi:z chi krih'in' |
| The black shirt |   | The shirt is black  |

In these cases, we have seen that the Adj+N phrases are derived from complete underlying sentences.

Similarly, in the following sentences, certain adverbs modify the nouns :

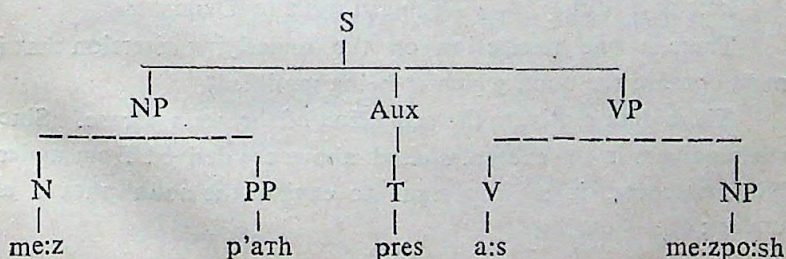
|                          |                                 |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| me:zi p'arhuk me:zposh   | The table cloth on the table is |
| chuni sa:ph              | not clean                       |
| darva:zas nishi p'o:mut  | The shoes lying near the door   |
| khərba:nī chu tsh'onimut | are worn out                    |

In these examples, the adverbs of place which modify the nouns are actually derived from sentences in the deep structure.

e.g.

|                         |                                   |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| me:zi p'arhuk me:zpo:sh | Table cloth (spread) on the table |
| me:zas p'arh chu        | There is a table cloth on the     |
| me:zpo:sh               | table                             |
| darva:zas nishi p'omut  | The shoes lying near the door     |
| khərba:nī               |                                   |
| darava:zas nishi chu    | A pair of shoes is lying near the |
| khərba:nī p'omut        | door                              |

Thus the underlying deep structure of the Adverb of place in the sentence *mə:zas p'arh chu me:zpo:sh* can be diagrammed as under :



Consider the following sentences with relative clauses :

- A. yi ku:r, yos sku:l gatsha:n chi, chi s'arha: sōdar  
 This girl, who goes to school, is very pretty



- B. mo'n do:s, yus dili chu ro:za:n, yiyi yo:r az  
My friend, who lives in Delhi, will come here today
- C. hu da:ktar, yus yath haspata:las manz chu no:kri: kara:n,  
chu s'atha: ka:bil. That doctor, who works in this  
hospital, is very efficient.

These sentences are derived from the following pairs of sentences in the deep structure :

- |                                  |                                |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| A. yi ku:r chi s'atha: sɔndar    | This girl is very pretty       |
| yi ku:r chi sku:l gatsha:n       | This girl goes to (her) school |
| B. m'o:n do:s yiyi yo:r az       | My friend will come here today |
| m'o:n do:s chu dili ro:za:n      | My friend lives in Delhi       |
| C. hu da:ktar chu s'atha: ka:bil | That doctor is very efficient  |
| hu da:ktar chu yath              | That doctor is working in      |
| haspata:las manz ka:m            | this hospital                  |
| kara:n                           |                                |

There is no upper limit on the number of times a noun can be modified. For example the sentence :

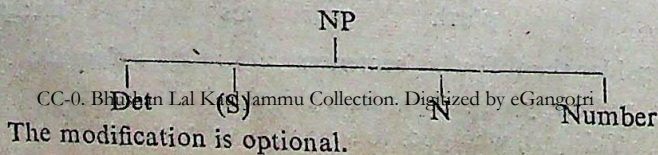
sɔndar ti java:n ku:r yos yo:r ə:s a:mɪts gəyi dili

The beautiful and young girl who had come here went to Delhi contains four assertions about the girl :

- |                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| ku:r chi sɔndar      | The girl is beautiful  |
| ku:r chi java:n      | The girl is young      |
| ku:r ə:s yo:r a:mɪts | The girl had come here |
| ku:r gəyi dili       | The girl went to Delhi |

There is one restriction on the underlying assertion that it must contain the noun which is being modified.

These data motivate the expansion of the noun phrase. Since the modifiers in the examples cited above are derived from underlying sentences, it is important to expand the noun phrase as under :





## The Adjective Phrase

2. 0. Adjectives are the main constituents of Adjective phrases. It is important to make a distinction between the base Adjectives and derived Adjectives. Base Adjectives are not derived from any other grammatical category and therefore do not contain any derivational affixes. Examples are given below :

- |                                  |                         |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. lərki chu mōt                 | The boy is fat          |
| 2. ku:r cha thəz                 | The girl is tall        |
| 3. yi zana:n cha<br>khu:bsu:rath | This woman is beautiful |

The derived Adjectives, on the other hand, are derivationally related to any other grammatical category such as Noun or Verb. The derived Adjectives may be classified under different types. Examples are given below :

- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 4. kita:bi kinanvo:l duka:nda:r             | The shopkeeper who sells books  |
| 5. yath sku:las manz paranvo:l<br>lərki     | The boy studying in this school |
| 6. yath pa:ri manz ro:zan<br>va:jen' zana:n | The woman living in this hut    |
| 7. pholivin' gula:b                         | The blooming roses              |
| 8. vadivin' shur'                           | The crying children             |
| 9. parivun le:khivun lərki                  | The boy who studies             |
| 10. hotimut tsu:Nrh                         | The rotten apple                |
| 11. phurimut ba:ni                          | The broken vessel               |



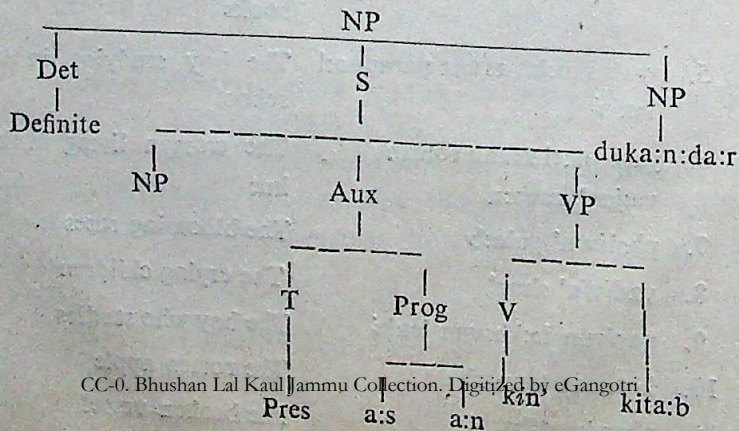
The derived Adjectives (4-11) are grammatically related to the verb phrases in the sentences (4A-11A) respectively given below and may be derived from them :

- |       |   |                                   |
|-------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 4 A.  | duka:nda:r chu kita:b<br>kīna:n             | The shopkeeper sells books        |
| 5 A.  | yath sku:las manz chu<br>lərkī para:n       | The boy studies in this<br>school |
| 6 A.  | yath pa:ri manz cha<br>(akh) zana:n ro:za:n | A woman lives in this hut         |
| 7 A.  | gula:b chi phola:n                          | The flowers bloom                 |
| 8 A.  | shur' chi vada:n                            | The children are crying           |
| 9 A.  | lərkī chu para:n le:kha:n                   | The boy does read and write       |
| 10 A. | tsu:nrh hot                                 | The apple (is) rotten             |
| 11 A. | ba:nī phur                                  | The vessel broke                  |

In the example cited above, sentences (4A-9A) with verbs in imperfective/progressive aspect are reduced to corresponding adjectival phrases in the sentences (4-9). Similarly the Adjectival phrases in the sentences (10) and (11) are derived from the sentences (10 A) and (11 A) respectively. Adjectival phrases in the sentences may be derived by a series of transformations. Consider the following sentences :

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 12. | kita:bī kīnanvo:l duka:nda:r<br>gav dili     | The bookseller went to<br>Delhi            |
| 13. | ka:r cala:van va:jen' zana:n<br>ə:snī bema:r | The woman who drives a<br>car was not sick |

The deep structure of the Noun Phrase in the sentence (12) will be as follows :





In the derivation of the NP, shared N of the embedded S and the Aux of the embedded S are deleted and the elements **an** and **vo:l** are added to the verb of the embedded S. The order of the Verb and the N in the VP of the embedded S is altered.

kita:bi kinanvo:l duka:nda:r

Following are the forms of the participial element agreeing with the following noun in number and gender :

| Masculine           |        | Feminine            |         |
|---------------------|--------|---------------------|---------|
| Sg.                 | Pl.    | Sg.                 | Pl.     |
| -vo:l               | -və:l' | -va:jen'            | va:jini |
| kita:bi kinanvo:l   |        | Book-seller (m.s)   |         |
| kita:bi kinanvə:l'  |        | Book-sellers (m.p.) |         |
| kita:bi kinanva:jen |        | Booksellers (f.s.)  |         |
| kita:bi kinanvajini |        | Booksellers (f.p.)  |         |

It is to be noted that all the verbs donot yield past participial adjectival phrases. The participial elements are added only to a restricted sub-class of verbs. Following are the elements added to the verbs agreeing with the subject Noun in number and gender which yield past participial phrases :

| Masculine |       | Feminine |       |
|-----------|-------|----------|-------|
| Sg.       | Pl.   | Sg.      | Pl.   |
| -mut      | -mit' | mits     | matsi |

Examples :

|                  |                         |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| ronmut bati      | Cooked rice (m.s.)      |
| rən' mit' thu:l  | Cooked eggs (m.p.)      |
| rən' mits sabzi: | Cooked vegetable (f.s.) |
| ranimatsi ga:Di  | Cooked fish (f.p.)      |



Consider the following examples of sentences with past participial elements :

14. lərki khot pashas p'arth      The boy climbed on the roof  
 → pashas p'arth khotmut lərki
15. shi:lan chel' palav      Shiela washed clothes  
 →\* shi:lin' chel'mit' palav
16. ra:man tshun' kəmi:z      Ram put on a shirt  
 →\* ra:mīn' tshunimits kəmi:z
17. ra:jan zo:l lali:ti:n      Raja lit the lantern  
 →\* Rajun zo:li mut la:li:ti:n

As pointed out above, Adjectives are the main constituents of Adjective phrases. Attributive Adjectives may precede a Noun as in the following examples :

18. sha:l chu kṛihun      →kṛihun sha:l  
 (The) Shawl is black      (The) black Shawl
19. lərki chu pron      →pron lərki  
 (The) boy is fair      (The) fair complexioned  
 complexioned      boy
20. ku:r cha thəz      →thəz ku:r  
 (The) girl is tall      (The) tall girl

A number of Adjectives agree in number and gender with the Noun they modify. e.g.

- ləkut lerkī      (The) small boy  
 ləkīr ku:r      (The) small girl  
 ləkīr' lərki      (The) small boys  
 ləkici kō:ri      (The) small girls

The forms of some of the Adjectives are given below :

| Masculine |        | Feminine |         |
|-----------|--------|----------|---------|
| Sg        | Pl     | Sg       | Pl      |
| n'u:l     | ni:l'  | ni:ji    | ni:ji   |
| vəzəl     | vəzi:l | vəzi:ji  | vəzi:ji |
|           |        |          | blue    |
|           |        |          | red     |



|        |         |         |        |        |
|--------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| krihun | krihin' | krihin' | krihni | black  |
| bod    | bəd'    | bəd     | baji   | big    |
| rut    | rit'    | rits    | ritsi  | good   |
| modur  | mədīr'  | mədīr   | mədīri | sweet  |
| t'oth  | teth'   | terh    | techi  | bitter |
| z'u:th | zi:th'  | zi:th   | ze:chi | tall   |
| thsoT  | tshor'  | tshor'  | tshoci | short  |
| l'odur | ledīr'  | ledīr   | ledīri | yellow |

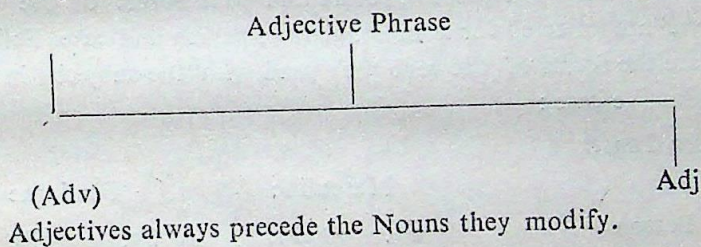
A few Adjectives like saphe:d 'white', sa:ph 'clean' gulə:b' 'rose colour' etc. do not change for their number and gender.

A number of Adjectives do not precede the Nouns without being preceded by the Adverbial element in the Adjective phrase. e.g.,

neciv sindis marnas p'arh dəkhi : mo:l

\*dəkhi:mo:l 'grieved father'

keeping in view such constructions where an Adverbial element must precede the adjective, we may illustrate the structure of the Adjective phrase as follows :



## The Auxiliary

3.0. The auxiliary is an obligatory element of a sentence. It consists of different components such as tense, modal, perfect progressive, imperfect and conditional. In this section we will discuss these components of the auxiliary very briefly.

### 3.1. Tense

Tense is used here in a restricted sense. It means the present, past and future forms and/or inflectional endings of the verbs agreeing in number, gender and person with the subject and/or object in different sentence types. Tense is generated as an element of the auxiliary in an underlying sentence. The tense marker is attached to the verb which follows it by a transformational rule. The present, future and past forms of the verb as 'be' are inflected for number, gender, person and case. Following are the forms of the verb 'be' used with the subject in the nominative case :

#### *Present Tense*

| Person              | Masculine |      | Feminine |       |
|---------------------|-----------|------|----------|-------|
|                     | Sg.       | Pl.  | Sg.      | Pl.   |
| 1st Per.            | chus      | chi  | chas     | cha   |
| 2nd Per (non-hon.)  | chukh     | chiv | chakh    | chavi |
| 2nd Per (hon.)      | chiv      | chiv | chiv     | chavi |
| 3rd Per. (non-hon.) | chu       | chi  | cha      | cha   |
| 3rd Per. (hon.)     | chi       | chi  | cha      | cha   |

#### Examples :

|         |              |           |          |
|---------|--------------|-----------|----------|
| bi chus | I (m) am     | bi chas   | I(f.) am |
| as' chi | We (m.p) are | tsi chukh | You are  |



|               |                |             |          |
|---------------|----------------|-------------|----------|
| tsi chakh     | You (f.s.) are | toh' chiv   | You are  |
| toh' chavi    | You (f.p.) are | hu/su chu   | He is    |
| ho/ cha       | She is         | hum/tim chi | They are |
| humi/timi cha | They (f.) are  |             |          |

*Past Tense*

| Person            | Masculine |        | Feminine |        |
|-------------------|-----------|--------|----------|--------|
|                   | Sg.       | Plu.   | Sg.      | Pl.    |
| 1st               | o:sus     | ə:s'   | ə:sis    | a:si   |
| 2nd<br>(non-hon)  | o:sukh    | ə:sivi | ə:sikh   | a:sivi |
| 2nd (hon.)        | ə:sivi    | ə:sivi | ə:sivi   | a:sivi |
| 3rd<br>(non-hon.) | o:s       | ə:s'   | ə:s      | a:si   |
| 3rd (hon)         | ə:s'      | ə:s'   | ə:s'     | a:si   |

## Examples :

|            |                 |             |                 |
|------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| bi o:sus   | I (m.s.) was    | əs' ə:s'    | We (m.p.) were  |
| bi ə:sis   | I (f.s.) was    | əs' a:si    | We (f.p.) were  |
| tsi o:sukh | You (m.s.) were | toh' ə:sivi | You (m.p.) were |
| tsi ə:sikh | You (f.s.) were | toh' ə:sivi | You (f.p.) were |

*Future Tense*

| Person         | Mas.   |       | Femi.  |       |
|----------------|--------|-------|--------|-------|
|                | Sg.    | Pl.   | Sg.    | Pl.   |
| 1st            | a:si   | a:sav | a:si   | a:sav |
| 2nd (non-hon)  | a:sakh | ə:siv | a:sakh | ə:siv |
| 2nd (hon.)     | ə:siv  | ə:siv | ə:siv  | ə:siv |
| 3rd (non-hon.) | a:si   | a:san | a:si   | a:san |
| 3rd. (hon.)    | a:san  | a:san | a:san  | a:san |

## Examples :

|            |             |            |              |
|------------|-------------|------------|--------------|
| bi a:si    | I will be   | as' a:sav  | We will be   |
| tsi a:sakh | You will be | toh' ə:siv | You will be  |
| su a:si    | He will be  | tim a:san  | They will be |

When the subject noun is in the oblique case following are the forms of the verb 'be' used in present past and future tenses. The verb agrees with object in number and gender and with subject in person.

*Present Tence*

| Person        | Masculine |       | Feminine |       |
|---------------|-----------|-------|----------|-------|
|               | Sg.       | Pl.   | Sg.      | Pl.   |
| Ist/3rd       | chu       | chi   | cha      | cha   |
| 2nd (sg.)     | chuy      | chiy  | chay     | chay  |
| 2nd (Pl./hon) | chuvi     | chivi | chavi    | chavi |

## Examples :

|                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| me/asi chu kalam      | I/we have a pen         |
| me/asi chi kalam      | I/we have pens          |
| me/asi cha kita:b     | I/we have a book        |
| me/asi cha kita:bi    | I/we have books         |
| tse chuy maka:n       | You have a house        |
| tse chiy maka:ni      | You have houses         |
| tōhi chuvi maka:n     | You have a house        |
| tōhi chiv mka:ni      | You have houses         |
| tāmis/timan chu ko:Th | He/they has/have a coat |
| tāmis/timan chī me:z  | He/they has/have tables |

*Past Tense*

| Person | Masculine |      | Feminine |      |
|--------|-----------|------|----------|------|
|        | Sg.       | Pl.  | Sg.      | Pl.  |
| Ist    | o:s       | ə:s' | ə:s      | a:si |



|                       |        |        |        |        |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 2nd (Sg. non-hon.)    | o:suy  | ə:siy  | ə:siy  | a:say  |
| 2nd Person (Pl./hon.) | o:sivi | ə:sivi | ə:sivi | a:sivi |
| 3rd Person            | o:s    | ə:s'   | ə:s    | a:si   |

## Examples :

|                            |                      |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| me/asi o:s akh kamri       | I/we had a room      |
| me/asi ə:s' dah kamri      | I/we had ten rooms   |
| tse o:suy akh pankhi       | You had a fan        |
| tse ə:siy pa:ntsh pankhi   | You had five fans    |
| tōhi o:sivi akh po:sh      | You had one flower   |
| tōhi ə:sivi va:riyah po:sh | You had many flowers |
| təmis o:s akh rhe:li       | He/they had a bag    |

*Future Tense*

| Person            | Masculine |         | Feminine |         |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|----------|---------|
|                   | Sg.       | Pl.     | Sg.      | Pl.     |
| 1st/3rd           | a:si      | a:san   | a:si     | a:san   |
| 2nd (Sg. non-hon) | a:siy     | a:sinay | a:siy    | a:sinay |
| 2nd (Sg. hon)     | a:sivi    | a:sinav | a:sivi   | a:sinav |

## Examples :

|                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| me/asi a:si akh alag kamri          | I/we will be having a separate room      |
| me/asi a:san pa:ntsh cirthi le:khni | I/we will have to write five letters     |
| tse a:siy pagah kə:m                | You will be having works tomorrow        |
| tse a:sinay va:riyah ka:mi          | You will be having a lot of things to do |
| tōhi a:sivi yo:r yun                | You will have to come here               |
| tōhi a:sinav pagah kita:b kinimatsi | You will have sold the books tomorrow    |



təmis/timan a:si pagah gari  
gatshun

He/they will have to go to  
his/their home tomorrow

təmis/timan a:san pə:nsi bə:  
gira:vin'

He/they will have to distri-  
bute the money

### 3.2. Perfect

The perfect is an optional element of the Auxiliary, and consists of two obligatory pieces. They are the forms of the helping verb a:s 'have' and the past participle marker. Following are the past participle markers, which are added to the simple past forms of the verbs, agreeing in number and gender with the object :

| Masculine |       | Feminine |        |
|-----------|-------|----------|--------|
| Sg.       | Pl.   | Sg.      | Pl.    |
| —mut      | —mūt' | —mits    | —matsi |

Examples of simple past forms of the verbs agreeing in number and gender with the object are as follows :

| Verb    | Root       | Simple past forms with 1st/3rd person subject |        |          |       |
|---------|------------|---|--------|----------|-------|
|         |            | Masculine                                     |        | Feminine |       |
|         |            | Sg.   | Pl.    | Sg.      | Pl.   |
| parun   | 'to read'  | par   | por    | pər'     | par   |
| karun   | 'to do'    | kar   | kor    | kər'     | kər   |
| le:khun | 'to write' | le:kh   | li:kh' | li:kh'   | li:ch |
| anun    | 'to bring' | an  | on     | ən'      | ən'   |
| nu'n    | 'to take'  | ni  | n'uv   | niyi     | niyi  |
| d'un    | 'to give'  | di  | d'ut   | dit'     | dits  |
| kh'on   | 'to eat'   | khe   | kha'v  | kheyi    | kheyi |
| ho'n    | 'to buy'   | he  | h'ot   | het'     | hets  |
| c'on    | 'to drink' | ce  | ca'v   | ceyi     | ceyi  |



The past participle markers are added in the following manner :

|           |   |          |            |   |           |
|-----------|---|----------|------------|---|-----------|
| por+mut   | = | pormut   | pər+mīts   | = | pərmīts   |
| pər'+mīt' | = | pər'mīt' | pari+matsi | = | parimatsi |

The forms of the helping verb *a:sun* 'to have' used in sentence constructions with the perfect auxiliary item in present perfect and past perfect tense are given below :

*Present Perfect :*

| Person              | Masculine         |       | Feminine |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------|----------|-------------------|
|                     | Sg.               | Plu   | Sg.      | Plu               |
| 1st/3rd             | chu               | chu   | cha      | cha               |
| 2nd (non-hon.)      | chuth             | chath | chath    | chath             |
| 2nd (Pl./ hon. Sg.) | chuv <sub>i</sub> | chiv  | chav     | chav <sub>i</sub> |

*Examples :*

|  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| me chu onmut me:z                      | I have brought a table    |
| me chi ən'mīt' me:z                    | I have brought tables     |
| me cha ən'mīts gər                     | I have brought a watch    |
| me cha animatsi gari                   | I have brought watches    |
| tse chuth kh'omut bat <sub>i</sub>     | You have eaten meals      |
| tse chith khemīt' tsu:nth'             | You have eaten apples     |
| tse chath khemīts tse:r                | You have eaten an apricot |
| tse chath khemitsi tse:ri              | You have eaten apricots   |
| tōhi chuv h'otmut maka:n <sub>i</sub>  | You have bought a house   |
| tōhi chiv het'mīt' rhu:l               | You have bought eggs      |
| tōhi chav hetsmīts kursi :             | You have bought a chair   |
| tōhi chav hettsmatsi zə:n <sub>i</sub> | You have bought baskets   |
| tem' chu n'umut sandu :kh              | He has taken the box      |
| timav chi mimit' rhu:l                 | They have taken eggs      |
| tami cha mimits və:j                   | She has taken a ring      |
| tami chi nimitsi va:ji                 | She has taken rings       |

*Past Perfect*

| Person | Masculine |      | Feminine |      |
|--------|-----------|------|----------|------|
|        | Sg.       | Plu  | Sg.      | Plu  |
| 1st    | o :s      | ə:s' | ə:s      | a:si |



|                   |        |        |        |        |
|-------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 2nd (Sg. non-hon) | o:suth | ə:sith | ə:sith | a:sath |
| 2nd (Pl/Sg hon)   | o:sivi | ə:sivi | ə:sivi | a:sivi |
| 3rd               | o:s    | ə:s'   | ə:s    | a:si   |

Examples :

|                              |                            |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| me o:s l'u:khmut mazmu:n     | I had written an essay     |
| me ə:s' li:kh'mit' sava:l    | I had written questions    |
| me ə:s li:chmits ciTh'       | I had written a letter     |
| me a:si le: chimatsi ciThi   | I had written letters      |
| tse o:suth pormut akhba :r   | You had read newspaper     |
| tse ə:sith pər'mit' mazmu:n  | You had read essays        |
| tse ə:sith pərmits ciTh'     | You had read the letter    |
| tse a:sath parimatsi kita:bi | You had read books         |
| tōhi o:sivi d'utmut ə:ni     | You had given the mirror   |
| tōhi ə:sivi dit' mit' ba:ni  | You had given the utensils |
| tōhi ə:sivi ditsmits chətər' | You had given an umbrella  |
| tōhi a:sivi ditsimatsi kunzi | You had given keys         |

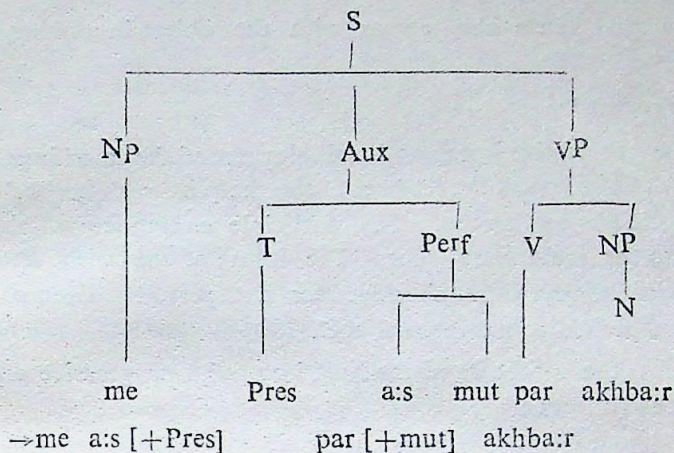
In the examples given above, we see that the perfect consists of the helping verb **a:s** plus the past participle form of the verb. The forms of the helping verb **a:sun** 'to have' agree with the subject in person and with the object in number and gender. The past participle form of the verb agrees with object in number and gender.

The tense is attached to the right hand side of the helping verb **a:s** and the past participle marker is attached to the right hand side of the verb which follows it. Both these operations are carried out by transformational rules.

Therefore, the tree structure of sentences (1) and (2) given below can be drawn as follows :

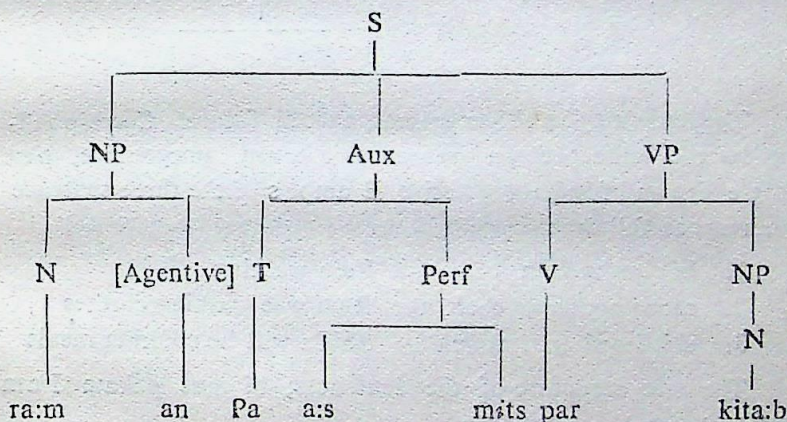
- (1) me ciTh pormut akhba:r





→ me chu pormut akhba:r

(2) ra:man ə:s pərmits kita:b



After applying a series of agreement and transformational rules we get the desired sentence as :

ra:man ə:s pərmits kita:b

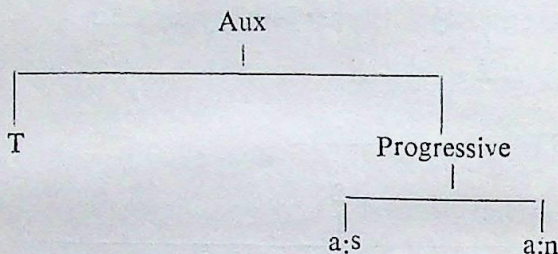
For instance, the object *kita:b* 'a book' being feminine singular, participle marker *mits* will be chosen, which is added to the right hand side of the verb in past tense. The verb in past tense agrees in number and gender with the object. The helping

verb in past tense also agrees with the object in number and gender.

### 3.3. Progressive

The progressive is an optional element of the auxiliary. It consists of two parts in Kashmiri, the helping verb *a:s* 'be' and the participle ending *a:n*. The participle ending *a:n* is always added to the main verb root. The forms of the verb *a:s* 'be' agree with subject in number, gender and person. The tense is always attached to the verb *a:s* 'be'.

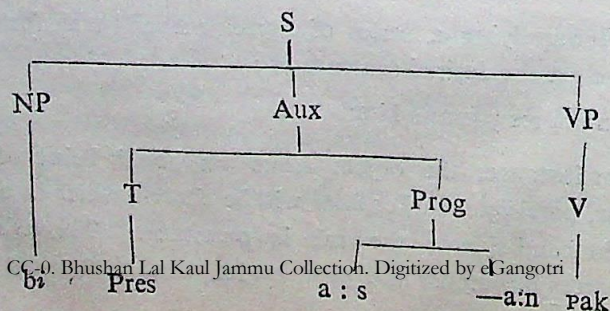
Thus the structure of the Auxiliary with progressive aspect will be as follows :



The tense may be either present, past or future. Corresponding to the tense we get sentences present progressive, past progressive and future progressive. Examples of the three sentence types are as follows :

- |                                   |                              |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>bi chus paka:n</i>          | I am walking                 |
| 2. <i>ra:mi o:s palav chala:n</i> | Ram was washing clothes      |
| 3. <i>shi:li a:si bati rana:n</i> | Shiela will be cooking meals |

The tree structure of the sentences, *bi chus paka:n* 'I am walking', will be as follows:



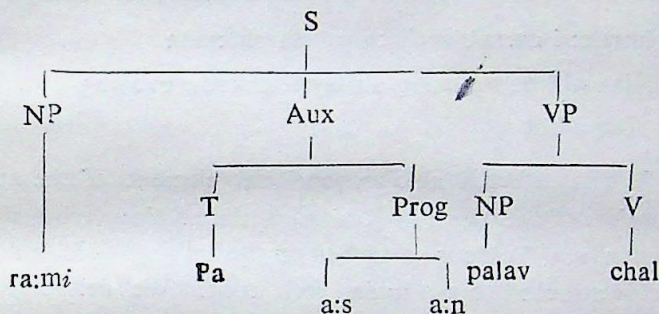


In the derivation of the desired sentence, tense is added by a transformational rule to the verb a:s 'be' and the participle ending a:n is added as a suffix to the main verb root, and the verb 'be' agrees with the subject in person, number and gender.

→bi a:s [+Pres] pak+[a:n]

→bi chus pakai:n

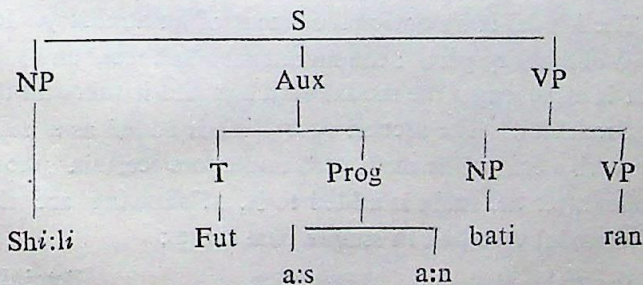
The sentence ra:mi o:s palav chala:n Ram was washing clothes is derived from the following tree structure :



→ra:mi [3rd Per m.s.] a:s [+Pa] palav chal+a:n

→ra:mi o:s palav chala:n

Similarly, the sentence shiel: a:si bati rana:n Shiela will be cooking meals is derived from the following tree structure :



→shiel: [3rd Per f.s.] bati ran+a:n

→shiel: a:si bati rana:n

The present progressive is generally used to express present time, for example ;



ra:mi chu kita:b para:n vunik'an

Ram is reading a book  
right now

The past progressive indicates that at some point in the past the action was in progress, for example :

sohni o:s shra:n kara:n ra:th sha:mas

Sohan was taking a  
bath yesterday evening

Similarly, in the future progressive, it is presumed that the action will be in progress at a time in future, for example :

hi:ri a:si na:ta:k vucha:n pagah sha:man

Hira will be watching a play tomorrow evening

### 3.4. Imperfect

The imperfect is also an optional element of the auxiliary. It consists of two parts in Kashmiri, the helping verb a:s 'be' and the suffix a:n. Tense is attached to the helping verb a:s and the suffix is attached to the main verb root. We derive following types of sentences by these transformations :

- |                      |           |
|----------------------|-----------|
| 1. bi chus para:n    | I read    |
| 2. tsi chukh do:ra:n | You run   |
| 3. su chu le:kha:n   | He writes |

### 3.5. Modal

The Modal is an optional element of an auxiliary. It consists of two obligatory parts : the modal verb hek 'can' and suffix —ith. Tense is attached to the modal verb hek and it takes all the inflectional markers. The second part —ith is added as a suffix to the main verb stem. The main verb undergoes certain phonological changes after the suffix is added to it. Following are the forms of the modal verb hek in simple past tense :

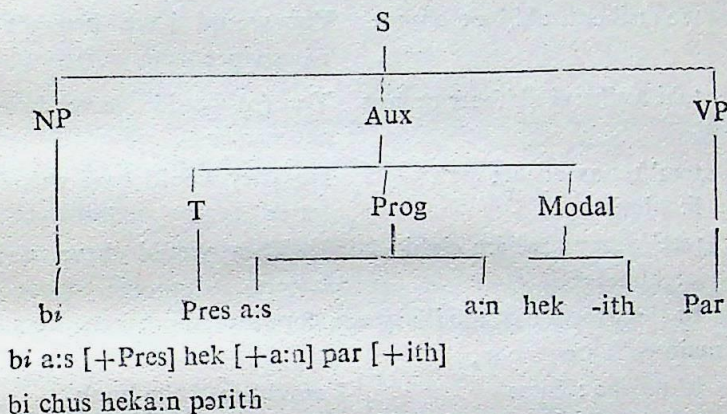
| Person    | Masouline |        | Feminine |        |
|-----------|-----------|--------|----------|--------|
|           | Sg.       | Pl.    | Sg.      | Pl.    |
| 1st       | h'ok      | hek'   | hec      | heci   |
| 2nd (Sg.) | h'okuth   | kekith | hecith   | hecath |
| 2nd (Pl.) | h'okvi    | hekiv  | heciv    | hecivi |
| 3rd       | h'ok      | hek'   | hec      | heci   |



Consider the following examples.

1. bi chus heka:n pərith I can/am able to read
2. bi hek palav chəlith I can wash clothes
3. me h'ok maka:n banə:vith I could construct a house

The tree structure of the sentence (1) will be as follows :



### 3.6 Conditional

The conditional is an optional element of the auxiliary. The conditional markers are added to the auxiliary verb stem *a:s* and in the absence of the auxiliary verb stem *a:s* they are added to the MV stems. The forms used in subjectival constructions are different from the forms used in objectival type of constructions :

| Person | Subjectival |        | Objectival |         |
|--------|-------------|--------|------------|---------|
|        | Sg.         | Pl.    | Sg.        | Pl.     |
| 1st    | —iħə :      | —iħə:v | —ihe :     | —iħə:n  |
| 2nd    | —iħə:kh     | —ihi:v | —ihe:th    | —ihe:vi |
| 3rd    | —ihe :      | —iħə:n | —ihe:      | —iħə:n  |

Examples :

bi a:s:iħə: a:mut

I would have come

es' a:s:iħə:v a:mut

We would have come

tsi a:s:iħə:kh a:mut

You would have come



|                               |                                      |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| toh' ə:sihi:v a:mit'          | You (p./hon. sg.) would have come    |
| su a:sihe: a:mut              | He would have come                   |
| tim a:sihə:n a:mit'           | They would have come                 |
| me/asi a:sihe: kita:b pərmits | I/We would have read the book        |
| me/asi a:sihə:n kita:bi       | I/We would have read the books       |
| parimatsi—                    |                                      |
| tse a:sihe:th akhba:r onmut   | You would have brought the newspaper |
| təhi a:sihe:vi akhba:r onmut  | You (p) would have brought newspaper |
| təm'/timav a:sihe: ciṛh'      | He/They would have written a letter  |
| li:chimits                    |                                      |
| tem'/timav a:sihə:n ciṛhi     | He/They would have written letters   |
| le:chimatsi                   |                                      |

In the absence of auxiliary a:s, conditional markers are added to main verb stems e.g.,

|                    |                       |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| bi parihə : kita:b | I would read the book |
| tsi le:khihə:kh    | You (Sg.) would write |
| toh' li:khihə:v    | You (Pl.) would write |
| su anihə:          | He would bring        |
| tim anihə:n        | They would bring      |

3.7. Following are the possible combinations of the components of auxiliary:

|                                   |                   |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| T+Perf. = bi chus a:mut           | I have come       |
| T+Prog = bi chus yiva:n           | I am coming       |
| T+Imperf = bi chus para:n         | I read            |
| T+Cond+Perf = bi a:sihə: a:mut    | I would have come |
| T+Cond+Prog = bi a:sihə : yiva:n  | I would be coming |
| T+Cond+Imperf = bi a:sihə: kara:n | I would do        |
| T+Cond+Imperf = bi a:sihə:        | I could have come |
| h'okmut yith                      |                   |
| T+Cond+M+Prog = bi a:sihə :       | I could come      |
| h'aka:n yith                      |                   |
| T+Cond+M+Imperf = bi a:sihə:      | I could read      |
| h'aka:n pəriṛh                    |                   |



## The Verb Phrase

4.0 The main verb is an obligatory element of the verb phrase. Main verbs are discussed under different major categories as copulative, intransitive, transitive and causative verbs. There is a close relationship between the main verb and the complement. It is, therefore, important to discuss different complements which a verb may take.

### 4.1 Copulative

The forms of the copula verb **a:sun** 'to be' are the same as that of the auxiliaries. The forms are inflected for number, gender, person, and case in subjectival constructions.

Examples :

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| bi chus ma:star  | I (m.s) am a teacher   |
| bi chas vaki:l   | I (f.s) am an advocate |
| əs' chi lərki    | We (m.p.) are boys     |
| əs' cha ko:ri    | We are girls           |
| tsi chukh shur   | You are a child        |
| tsi chakh ku:r   | You are a girl         |
| toh' chiv shur'  | You are children       |
| toh' chavi ko:ri | You are girls          |
| su chu da:na:    | He is wise             |
| sə cha da:na:    | She is wise            |
| tim chi lək'it   | They are young         |
| timi cha səndar  | They are beautiful     |

The forms of copula verb agree with object in number and gender in the objectival type constructions.



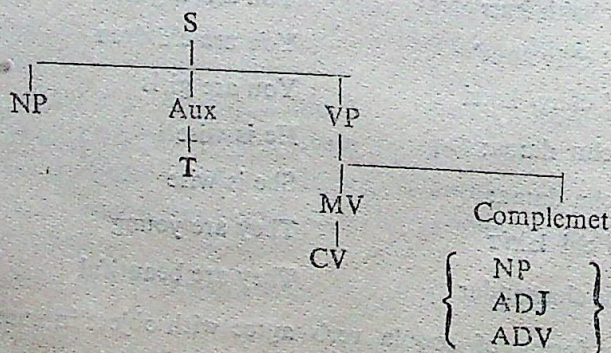
## Exampals :

|                     |                         |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| larkas chu akhba:r  | The boy has a newspaper |
| larkas chi akhba:r  | The boy has newspapers  |
| larkas cha gər      | The boy has a watch     |
| larkas cha gari     | The boy has watches     |
| tse chuy maka:n̄i   | You have a house        |
| tse chiy neciv      | You have sons           |
| tse chay ku:r       | You have a daughter     |
| tse chay ko:ri      | You have daughters      |
| tōhi chuv me:z      | You have a table        |
| tōhi chav kursi:    | You have a chair        |
| tōhi chiv duka:n̄i  | You have shops          |
| tōhi chav̄ kita:bi  | You have books          |
| mohnas chu kalido:d | Mohan has a headache    |
| mohnas chi po:sh    | Mohan has flowers       |
| sohnas cha kə:m     | Sohan has (some) work   |
| sohanas cha shakli  | Sohan has pictures      |

The copula verb (cv) in Kashmiri thus takes nominal, adjectival and adverbial complements. Consider the following examples :

- |                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. mohn̄i chu da:ktar       | Mohan is a doctor           |
| 2. ra:da ə:s khu:bsu:rath   | Radha was beautiful         |
| 3. sohn̄i a:si sku:las manz | Sohan will be in the school |

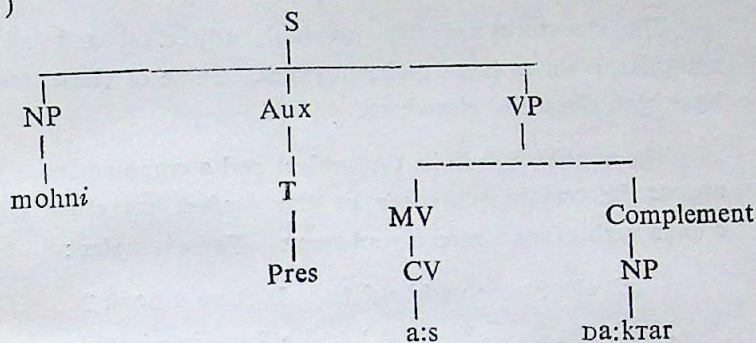
The structure of the sentences (1—3) can be represented by a tree diagramme as follows :





The tense is attached to the C V and the C V agrees with subject noun in number, gender and person. The tree diagrams of the sentences 1-3 are as follows :

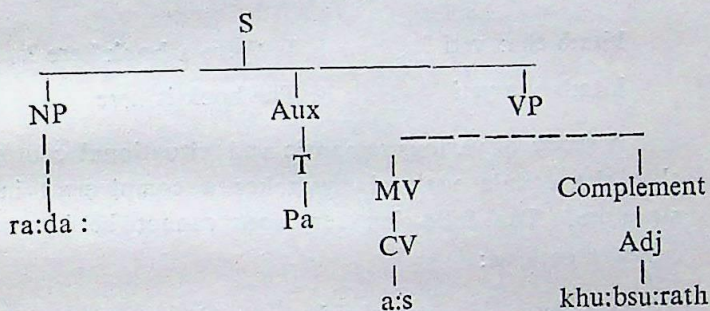
(1)



→ mohni [3rd Per Mas Sg.] a:s[+Pres] da:ktar

→ mohni chu da:ktar

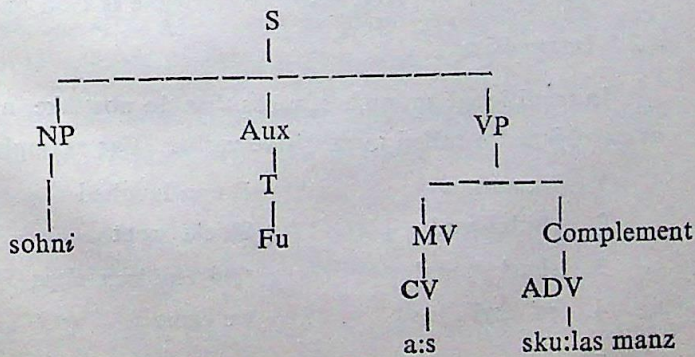
(2)



→ ra:da: [3rd Per Fem. Sg.] a:s [+Pa] khu:bsu:rath

→ ra:da: ə:s khu:bsu:rath

(3)





→ sohni [3rd Per. Mas. Sg.] a:s [ + Fu] sku:las manz

→ sohni a:si sku:las manz

The structures of the nominal, adjectival and adverbial complements may be of different types. Some of these structures have been discussed elsewhere.

The copula verb links the subject and a complement. It may appear in certain sentences at the surface structure that the copula verb takes a zero complement. For examples :

kita:b cha ?      'book' 'is' ?      Is there a book ?

kita:b cha      'book' 'is'      'There is a book'

These sentences may be derived from the following sentences with adverbial complement :

kita:b cha: yeti ?      Is there a book here ?

kita:b cha yeti      The book is here

A study of various semantic and situational contexts reveals that the copula verb always takes a complement in its deep structure. The following sentences cannot be interpreted as complementless :

poz chu      'true' 'is'      It is true

va:di chu      'promise' 'is'      It is a promise

bagva:n chu      'God' 'is'      There is God or God exists

#### 4.2 Intransitive

In traditional grammars, verbs that do not take noun phrase as an object are called intransitive verbs. For example :

1 ra:man os      Rama laughed

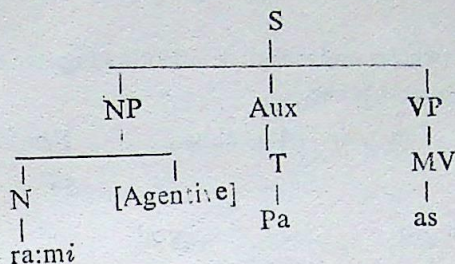
2. shi:lan vod      Shiela wept

3. shur' shong'      The children slept

4. əs' a:yi      we came

The tree structure of the sentence (1) will be as follows :





ra:mi [+an] as [+Pa]

→ra:man os

A clear-cut distinction has to be maintained between those verbs which do not take a noun phrase as an object and those verbs which do take noun phrase as an object or complement. A number of sentences which appear to take zero complement may be derived from sentences with object noun phrases. For example the sentences (1)–(3)

- |                 |         |
|-----------------|---------|
| 1. me g'ov      | I sang  |
| 2. tse z'u:nuth | You won |
| 3. təm' ho:r    | He lost |

can be derived from the sentences with noun phrase objects given below :

- |                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1A me g'av bə:th     | I sang a song     |
| 2A tse z'u:nuth me:c | you won the match |
| 3A təm' ho:r me:c    | He lost the match |

Therefore, the verbs like g'avun 'to sing', ze:nun 'to win' and ha:run 'to loose' can not be called intransitive verbs.

In Kashmiri, intransitive verbs may be classified under three categories, on the basis of the case markers the subject may take.

*Category I* includes verbs such as vadun 'to weep', asun 'to laugh', ladun 'to quarrel' bə:lun 'to say' etc.

In the past tense, the forms of these verbs are used with the subject nouns in agentive case. The forms agree



with the subject in person and number. Following are the forms of these verbs in the past tense :

| Verb in Infinitive | Person | Masculine |        | Feminine |        |
|--------------------|--------|-----------|--------|----------|--------|
|                    |        | Sg.       | Pl.    | Sg.      | Pl.    |
| vadun 'to cry'     | 1st    | vod       | vod    | vod      | vod    |
|                    | 2nd    | voduth    | vodivi | voduth   | vodivi |
|                    | 3rd    | vod       | vod    | vod      | vod    |
| asun 'to laugh'    | 1st    | os        | os     | os       | os     |
|                    | 2nd    | osuth     | osivi  | osuth    | osivi  |
|                    | 3rd    | os        | os     | os       | os     |
| ladun 'to quarrel' | 1st    | lod       | lod    | lod      | lod    |
|                    | 2nd    | loduth    | loduvi | loduth   | loduvi |
|                    | 3rd    | lod       | lod    | lod      | lod    |

Examples :

|           |               |            |                     |
|-----------|---------------|------------|---------------------|
| me os     | 'I laughed'   | asi os     | 'we laughed'        |
| tse osuth | 'you laughed' | tōhi osivi | 'you (pl.) laughed' |
| tam' os   | 'he laughed'  | timav os   | 'they laughed'      |

Thus, in the 1st and 3rd person the agreement of the verb is with the person and in the 2nd person with the number also.

*Category II* includes the verbs such as atsun 'to enter', gatshun 'to go', yun 'to come', ne:run 'to come out', z'on 'to be born,' pakun, 'to walk' marun 'to die' etc. These verbs are always used with the subject noun in nominative case. Following are the inflected form of these verbs in past tense agreeing in number and gender with the subject noun :

| Verb             | Person | Masculine |          | Feminine |          |
|------------------|--------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|
|                  |        | Sg.       | Pl.      | Sg.      | Pl.      |
| atsun 'to enter' | 1st    | tsa:s     | tsa:yi   | tsa: yas | tsa:yi   |
|                  | 2nd    | tsa:kh    | tsa:yivi | tsa:yakh | tsa:yivi |
|                  | 3rd    | tsa:v     | tsa:yi   | tsa:yi   | tsa:yi   |



|                      |     |         |          |          |          |
|----------------------|-----|---------|----------|----------|----------|
| gatshun 'to go'      | 1st | go:s    | gəyi     | gəyas    | gəyi     |
|                      | 2nd | go:kh   | gəyivi   | gəyakh   | gəyivi   |
|                      | 3rd | gov/gav | geyi     | gəyi     | gəyi     |
| yun 'to come'        | 1st | a:s     | a:yi     | a:yas    | a:yi     |
|                      | 2nd | a:kh    | a:yivi   | a:yakh   | a:yivi   |
|                      | 3rd | a:v     | a:yi     | a:yi     | a:yi     |
| ne:run 'to come out' | 1st | dra:v   | dra:yi   | dra:yas  | dra:yi   |
|                      | 2nd | dra:kh  | dra:yivi | dra:yakh | dra:yivi |
|                      | 3rd | dra:v   | dra:yi   | dra:yi   | dra:yi   |
| z'on 'to be born'    | 1st | za:s    | za:yi    | za:yas   | za:yi    |
|                      | 2nd | za:kh   | za:yivi  | za:yakh  | za:yivi  |
|                      | 3rd | za:v    | za:yi    | za:yi    | za:yi    |

## Examples :

|              |                    |               |                    |
|--------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| bi tsa:s     | I(m.) entered      | bi tsa:yas    | I(f.) entered      |
| əs' tsa:yi   | we entered         | tsi tsa:kh    | you (m.s.) entered |
| tsi tsa:yakh | you (f.s.) entered | toh' tsa:yivi | you (p.) entered   |
| su tsa:v     | he entered         | tim tsa:yi    | they (m) entered   |
| so tsa:yi    | she entered        | timi tsa:yi   | they (f.) entered  |

*Category III*

There is a very limited number of intransitive verbs which may be used with subjects in agentive case as well as with subjects in nominative case. For example, verbs like **natsun** 'to dance' fall in this category. Following are the forms of this verb used with subjects in nominative case as well as agentive case :

## Nominative Case :

| Person | Masculine |         | Feminine |         |
|--------|-----------|---------|----------|---------|
|        | Sg        | Pl      | Sg       | Pl      |
| 1st    | notsus    | nəts'   | nəts'is  | nətsi   |
| 2nd    | notsukh   | nətsivi | nəts'ikh | nətsivi |
| 3rd    | nots      | nəts'   | nəts     | nətsi   |



## Agentive Case :

|     |         |         |         |         |
|-----|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Ist | nots    | nots    | nots    | nots    |
| 2nd | notsuth | notsivi | notsikh | natsivi |
| 3rd | nots    | nots    | nots    | nots    |

## Examples:

|                          |            |
|--------------------------|------------|
| bi notsus/me nots        | I danced   |
| tsi notsukh/tse not suth | You danced |
| su nots/təm' nots        | He danced  |

## 4.3. Transitive

Verbs that take noun phrases as complements are called transitive verbs. The verb agrees with the complement noun phrase in number and gender and with subject noun in person and number. Following are the forms of a few verbs in the past tense agreeing with the subject noun in person and number and with the complement noun phrase in number and gender.

| Verb            | Subject N<br>Person | Masculine |        | Feminine |         |
|-----------------|---------------------|-----------|--------|----------|---------|
|                 |                     | Sg.       | Pl.    | Sg.      | Pl.     |
| parun 'to read' |                     |           |        |          |         |
|                 | Ist                 | por       | pər'   | pər      | pari    |
|                 | 2nd (non-hon)       | poruth    | pərith | pərith   | par'ath |
|                 | 2nd (p/shon)        | porivi    | pərivi | pərivi   | parivi  |
|                 | 3rd                 | por       | pər'   | pər      | pari    |

## kh'on 'to eat'

|                  |         |         |         |         |
|------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Ist              | kh'av   | kheyi   | kheyi   | kheyi   |
| 2nd (s. non-hon) | kh'o:th | kheyath | kheyath | kheyivi |
| 2nd (p./s hon)   | kh'o:vi | kheyivi | kheyivi | kheyivi |
| 3rd              | kh'av   | khey    | khey    | kheyi   |



## Example :

|                     |                                 |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| me por akhba:r      | I read a newspaper              |
| me pər' akhba:r     | I read newspapers               |
| asi pər kita:b      | We read a book                  |
| asi pari kita:bi    | We read books                   |
| tse choluth kali    | You washed your head            |
| tse chəlith palav   | You washed clothes              |
| tse chəjjith kəmi:z | You washed a shirt              |
| tse chajath kəmi:zi | You washed shirts               |
| təhji cholivi buth  | You (Pl/hon.) washed your face  |
| təhi chəlivi ba:ni  | You washed utensils             |
| təhi chəjivi sə:r'  | You washed a sari               |
| təhi chajivi sa:ri  | You washed saris                |
| ra:man on bəri:vi   | Ram brought a purse             |
| lərkav ən' tama:ɾar | The boys brought tomatoes       |
| kə:ri ən' dəj       | The girl brought a handkerchief |
| kə:r'av ani daji    | The girls brought handkerchiefs |

Transitive verbs may further be distinguished into two categories : (a) "action" transitive verbs and (b) "description" transitive verbs. Noun phrase complements function as *object* with "action" transitive verbs and they function as *predicate nominals* with "description" transitive verbs.

Examples are :

- |                        |                      |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. sohnan li:ch kita:b | Sohan wrote a book   |
| 2. ra:man pər ciɾh'    | Rama read the letter |

in the sentences (1) and (2) **kita:b** and **ciɾh'** function as objects, with the "action" transitive verb. In the sentences (3) and (4) given below, the noun phrase complements **apiz'o:r** 'liar' and **nəv gər** 'new watch' function as predicate nominals with descriptive transitive verbs :

- |                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 3. mohni chu apiz'o:r | Mohan is a liar      |
| 4. tse chay nəv gər   | You have a new watch |

Notice that there are clear-cut differences in the semantic relationship between the main verbs and the noun phrase com-







|     |        |                  |                  |
|-----|--------|------------------|------------------|
| khe | 'eat'  | kh'a:vina:v      | kh'a:vina:vina:v |
| ni  | 'take' | n'a:v/n'a:vina:v | n'a:vina:vina:v  |

Notice that the causal stem undergoes certain phonological changes also. The causative stems take inflectional endings according to different sentence constructions.

In the past tense, if the causative agent is in the nominative case the verb agrees with the causative agent. If the causative agent is in the oblique case, a postposition is added and the verb agrees with object.

Examples :

1. shi:lan chəl' palav                      Shiea washed clothes
2. me chalɪnə:v shi:l palav      I caused Shiea to wash clothes
3. me chalɪnə:v/chalɪna:vɪnə:v' shi:las athi palav
4. me chalɪnə:v/chalɪna:vɪnə:v' ra:mɪni zəriyi shi:las athi palav

In the progressive/imperfective aspect the auxiliary verb always agrees with  $N_1$  (initiator) in number, gender and person.

Examples :

5. shi:li cha/ə:s palav chala:n      Shila is/was washing clothes
6. ra:mɪ chu/o:s shi:las palav      Rama is/was causing  
chalɪna:va:n                      Shiea to wash clothes
7. ra:mɪ chu/o:s shi:las athi palav chalɪna:va:n
8. In the future tense, the causal verb agrees with  $N_1$  (initiator) in person and number.
9. mohni ani kitab                      Mohan will bring the book
10. ra:mɪ anɪna:vi mohnas kita:b
11. ra:mɪ anɪna:vi mohnas athi kita:b
12. bi anɪna:van mohnas athi/mohni zəriyi kita:b

#### 4.5. Verb Phrase Complements

Verbs phrase Complements may also include embedded sentences. Here we will discuss three main sentence types: (a) noun



clause sentences, (b) question-word sentences, and (c) tenseless sentences, which are embedded in verb phrase complements.

#### 4.5.1. Noun Clause Sentence

A noun clause sentence which is embedded in the verb phrase is optionally preceded by *ki/zi* 'that'. For example :

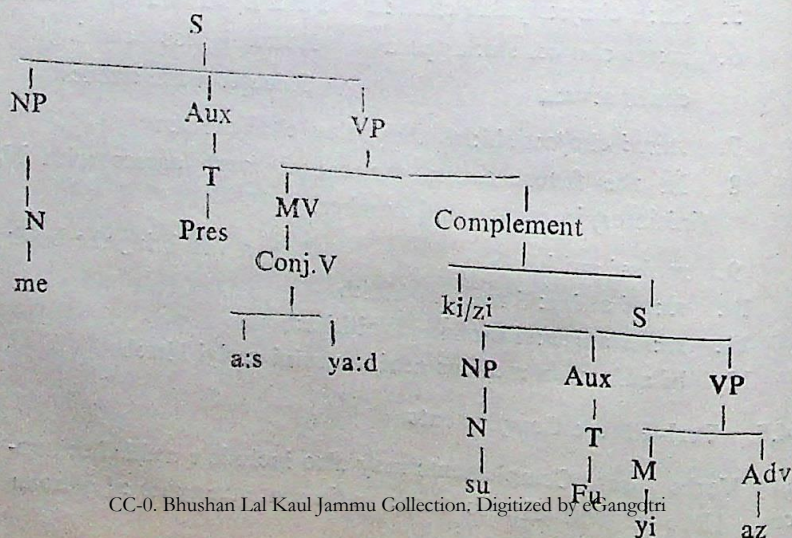
|   |  |
|---|--|
| me chu ya:d (ki/zi) su yiyi az          | I remember (that) he will come today     |
| me butz (ki/zi) tam' kor kha:ndar       | I heard (that) he got married            |
| tse vachuth (ki/zi) me kor pan'in' ke:m | You saw (that) I did my work             |
| me chu ba:sa:n (ki/zi) az peyi ru:d     | It appears to me that it will rain today |

The noun clause sentence complement will thus develop according to the following phrase structure rule :

Noun clause sentence = *ki/zi* + S

A sample derivation of a sentence which contains a noun clause sentence complement is given below :

me chu ya:d (ki/zi) su yiyi az





→ me a:s [+Pres] ya:d ki/zi su yi [+Fu] az

→ me cha ya:d ki/zi su yiyi az

Notice that when an embedded sentence in the verb phrase complement does not contain the verb *a:s* 'be' the sentence can be reduced to a participial phrase by applying certain transformations. For example, the following noun clause complement phrases :

me a:v khosh su gav gari I liked it that he went home

→ me a:v khosh tām'sund gari I liked his going to home  
gatshun

me bu:z su a:v va:pas I heard (that) he came back

→ me bu:z tām'sindi va:pas yinuk

me ru:dni ya:d su a:v yo:r I did not remember (that) he  
came here

→ me ru:dni ya:d 'tām'sund yo:r yun

If an attempt is made to reduce the sentences with verb *a:s* 'be' into a participial phrases, the result will be illformed sentences :

me tor phikri su o:sm' tsu:r I understood that he was a thief

\*metor phikri tām'sund tsu:r a:sun

me bu:z sava:l o:s thi kh I heard the question was correct

\*me bu:z sava:luk thi:kh a:sun

ra:mas p'av ya:d java:b o:s Ram remembered that the answer  
galath was incorrect

\*ramas p'av ya:d java:buk galath a:sun

#### 4.5.2. Question-Word Sentence Complements

A number of verbs take question-word sentence complements. The embedded sentences are derived by replacing a grammatical element by an appropriate question-word. Consider the following examples :

me chu pata: ra:mi kati chu I know where Ram is

toh' vāiv su k'a:zi a:v You say why did he come

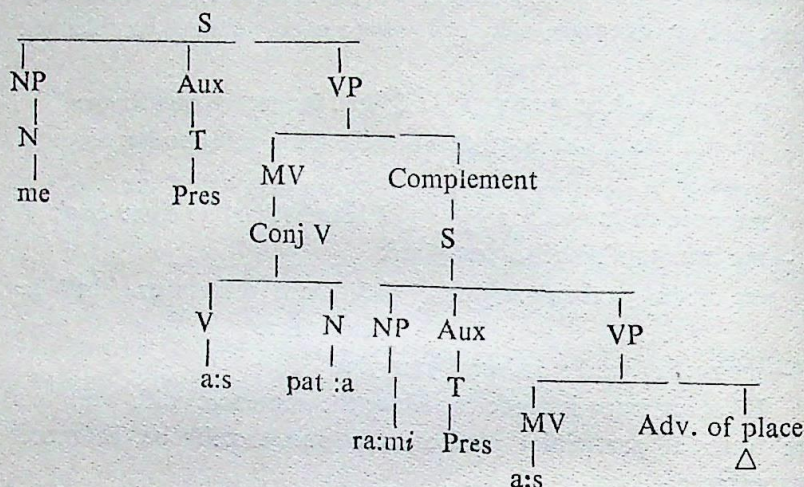
tāmis chu ya:d kām' kər kə:m He remembers who did the  
work

me tor phikri ra:mi ko:ta I understood how tall Ram is  
z'u:th chu



In all the examples given above, we find that a grammatical element is replaced by a question-word and the question-word is moved to an appropriate place. The tree structure of sentence with a question-word sentence complement is given below :

me chu pata: ram: kati chu



In the embedded sentence, the grammatical element Adv. of place is replaced by an appropriate question word **kati**, which is later moved before the verb **a:s**.

#### 4.5.3. The Tenseless Sentence Complement

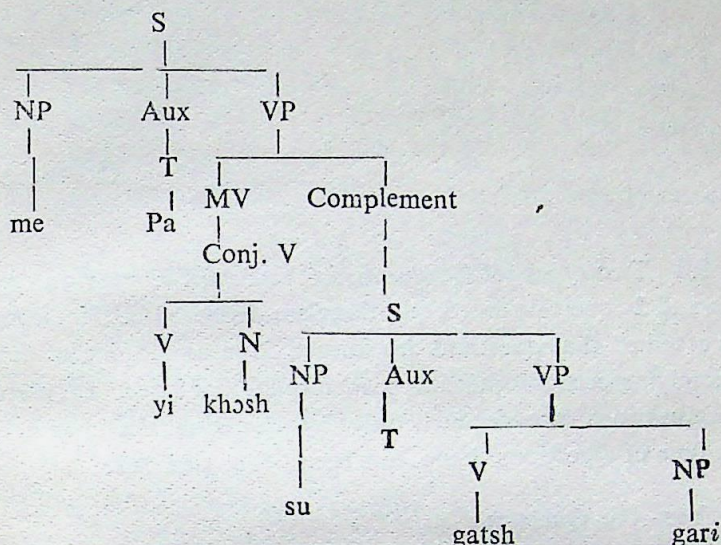
In different types of sentences with tenseless sentence complements, the tense of the embedded sentences does not come to the surface of the sentence. The tense of the embedded sentence is deleted and the embedded sentence comes to the surface as a participial phrase.

For example, from the underlying sentence *bi T gatsh gar:* 'T go home' we may derive a phrase *m'o:n gar: gatshun* 'My going to home'.

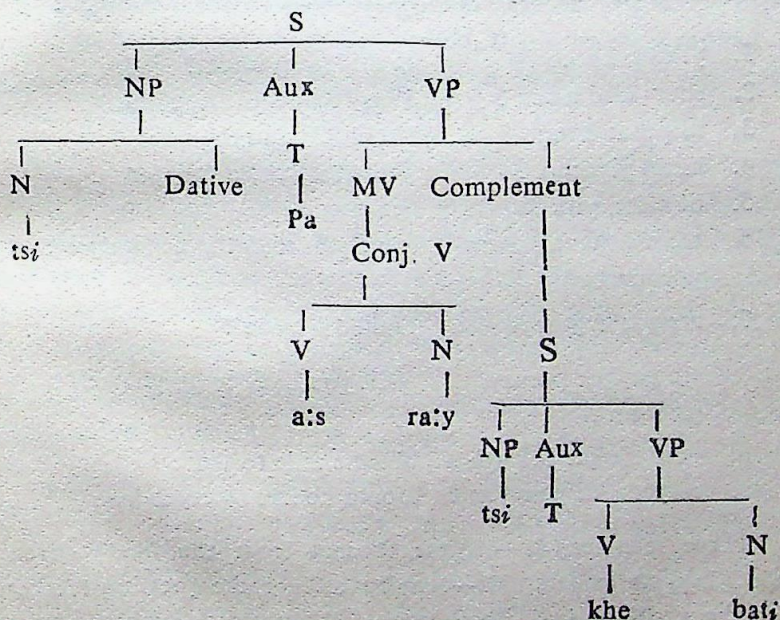
The tense in the underlying sentence is deleted, the subject pronoun is changed to possessive pronoun and the suffix **un** is added to the verb stem. The sentence

*me a:v khosh tam' sund gar: gatshun* 'I liked his going to home' is derived from the following underlying structure :





Similarly the sentence *tse ə:siy ra:y bati kh'on* 'You hoped to eat meals' is derived from the following underlying structure :



In this case, the identical NP of the underlying sentence is also deleted by transformations and does not appear on the surface structure.



## Questions

5.0 Two types of Questions in Kashmiri 1. 'yes—no questions and 2 question-word questions are discussed in this section. It is assumed that questions are formed from underlying statements by applying certain optional transformational rules. In certain cases questions are formed only by changing the intonation, such type of Questions have not been discussed here.

## 5.1 Yes—No Questions

A 'yes—no question' is a type of question which anticipates 'yes' or 'no' as an answer. Consider the following examples :

- |                                    |                                |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. yi cha: kita:b ?                | Is this (the) book ?           |
| 2. shur: osa: asa:n ?              | Was (the) child laughing ?     |
| 3. bi para: kita:b ?               | Should I read the book ?       |
| 4. ra:mi yiya: az ?                | Will Ram come today ?          |
| 5. bi heka: yith ?                 | Can I come ?                   |
| 6. tse chutha: akhba:r<br>pormut ? | Have you read the newspaper ?  |
| 7. me paz'a: yun ?                 | Should I come ?                |
| 8. tse peyiya: pa:nay<br>gatshun ? | Will you have to go yourself ? |
| 9. tam' h'oka: li:khith ?          | Was he able to write ?         |
| 10. su yetsh'a: yo:r yun ?         | Would he like to come here ?   |

These questions (1—10) are formed from the below given underlying statements (1a—10a) by adding the question marker *a:* to the auxiliary or helping verb. Where there is no auxiliary verb or a helping verb in the underlying structure, the marker is added to the main verb.



|      |                          |                                  |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 a  | yi cha kita:b            | This is (the) book               |
| 2 a  | Shur o:s asa:n           | The child was laughing           |
| 3 a  | bi pari kita:b           | I will read the book             |
| 4 a  | ra:mī yiyi az            | Ram will come today              |
| 5 a  | bi hekī yith             | I can come                       |
| 6 a  | tse chuth akhba:r pormut | You have read the news<br>paper  |
| 7 a  | me pazi yun              | I should come                    |
| 8 a  | tee peyiy pa:nay gatshun | You will have to go your<br>self |
| 9 a  | tem' h'ok likkhith       | He could write                   |
| 10 a | su yetshi yor yun        | He would like to come<br>here    |

It may be seen from the examples given above, in transforming the underlying statement into a 'yes—no question', the question marker *a:* is added to one of the two types of verbs : (1) a helping verb or a modal as an optional element of the auxiliary (2) if no helping verb or modal is used, the marker is added to the main verb. When *a:* is added as a suffix to the verb root certain phonological changes do occur. e.g.,

cha + a: = cha:                      yi + a: = yiya :

It has been said above that the 'yes—no questions' normally elicit a 'yes' or 'no' as an answer. The answer to most of such questions can be given by paraphrasing the questions themselves in underlying declarative sentences beginning with *yi chu poz ki* 'It is true that' or *yi kath chaniki* 'This is not the case that'.

The short answer 'yes' or 'no' may optionally be followed by a declarative statement. For example :

|        |                       |                               |
|--------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Q : | yi cha: kita:b ?      | Is this the book              |
|        | a: (yi cha kita:b)    | yes (this is the book)        |
|        | nə (yi chani kita:b)  | No (this is not the book)     |
|        | shur o:sa: asa:n ?    | Was the child laughing ?      |
|        | a: (shr o:s asa:n)    | yes (the boy was laughing)    |
|        | nə (shur o:shr asa:n) | No (the boy was not laughing) |



## 5.2. Question-Word Questions :

The question-word questions form a second major category of questions in Kashmiri. This type of question always carries a question-word. The question-word type questions ask for specific piece of information and not just 'yes' or 'no' type answers. The question words which are used in this type of questions are as follows : **kus** (**kam**, **kəs**, **kami**) 'who', **k'a**: **what** **k'uth** 'how', **koṭ** (**kati**, **katinas**, **kat'ath**) 'where', **kəts** 'how many' **ko:tah** 'how much', **kar** 'when', **k'a:zi** 'why' etc.

It is important to point out here that some of the question words have co-occurrence restrictions. For instance, the forms of interrogative pronoun 'who' in Kashmiri has co-occurrence relationship with animate human noun phrases. Furthermore, the forms of the interrogative pronoun 'who' in Kashmiri agree in number and gender with the subject noun phrase :

| Masculine    |              | Feminine        |                 |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Sg.          | Pl.          | Sg.             | Pl.             |
| kus          | kam          | kəs             | kami 'who'      |
| yi kus chu ? | 'who is he ? | yim kam chi ?   | 'who are they ? |
| yi kəs cha ? | who is she ? | yimi kami cha ? | who are they    |

Similarly, the question-word **k'a**: 'what' in Kashmiri has co-occurrence relationship with non-animate noun phrases, **koṭ**, (**kati** **katinas**, **kat'ath**) 'where' with adverbs of place, **kar** 'when' with adverbs of time, **k'a:zi** 'why' with adverbs of reason etc.

As said above, the question-word questions elicit a piece of information which may be related to any of the following, a noun phrase, an adjective, an adverb of reason etc. For instance, compare the following questions and answers :

11. Q. yi kus chu ?                      who is he ?  
     A. yi chu daktar                    He is a doctor
12. Q. yi k'a: chu ?                    what is this  
     A. yi chu me:z.                    This is a table

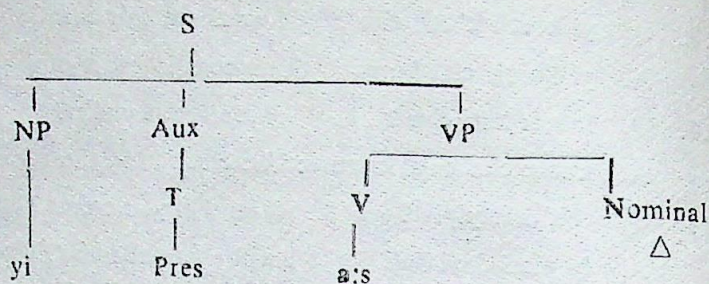


13. Q. yi ko:th k'uth chu ? How about this coat ?  
 A. yi ko:th chu ja:n This coat is good one
14. Q. kursi: kati cha ? Where is the chair ?  
 A. kursi: cha kamras manz The chair is in the room
15. Q. toh' kar yiyiv ? When will you come ?  
 A. bi yimi dōyi baji I will come at two O'clock
16. Q. su k'a:zi a:vni ? Why didn't he come ?  
 A. su a:vni tik'a:zi He did not come because he  
su o:s bema:r was sick
17. Q. lu:r ki:ts zi:th cha ? How long is the stick  
 A. lu:r cha tso:r phut The stick is four feet long  
zi:th

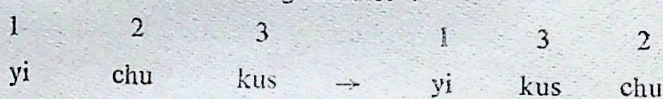
The underlined words or phrases provide the pieces of information which the questions elicit in the above examples. The underlined words and phrases may be used as short answers which provide complete information.

We assume that all questions are derived from corresponding underlying statements. Let us see what type of statements underlie the question-word questions. The question tse k'a: chuy na:v ? 'What is your name' ? may be derived from an underlying statement like 'tse chuy na:v...' 'Your name is...'. The blank space is for the piece of information to be covered in the underlying structure. Thus the underlying structure of the statement must contain one element that has grammatical function and no lexical content. An appropriate question-word replaces the element which asks for a specific piece of information. The grammatical element is an obligatory element in the underlying structure which can be replaced by an appropriate question-word in the question-word questions. The question-word is later moved to the position after the subject and before the main verb. The question-word question yi kus chu ? 'who is he' may be derived from the following underlying structure.

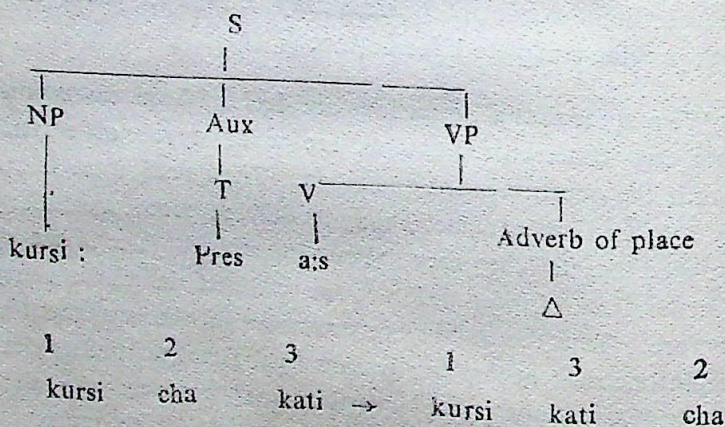




In the underlying structure, the grammatical element (Nominal, in this case) is replaced by the question-word *kus* 'who'. The question-word question is derived after moving the question-word in the following manner :



The question *kursi: kati cha?* may also be derived from the following underlying structure :





## Coordinate Conjunction

6.0. In this section an attempt will be made to discuss different types of coordinate conjunction structures in Kashmiri, and to point out some structural and transformational constraints on such structures which can be conjoined coordinately with the morpheme *ti* 'and'.

6.1. Conjunctions with *ti* 'and' are formed by transformations which conjoin two or more sentences with the morpheme *ti* and allow deletion of 'identical' elements, if any, in the conjoined sentences. The general rule schema for conjunction reduction conjoins the constituents if they are of the same type and have the same function in a sentence. For instance, two noun phrases cannot be conjoined if one is a subject noun phrase and the other an object noun phrase. There are three types of coordinate conjunction structures possible in Kashmiri. Examples are given below :

- 1 *lærkan pər kita:b ti ko:ri li:ch ci:Th'*  
The boy read a book and the girl wrote a letter
- 2 *ra:jan ti shi:lan por akhba:r*  
Raj and Shiela read the newspaper
- 3 *ra:jan por akhba:r ti shi:lan ti*  
Raj read the newspaper and Shiela did too.

Sentence (1) is derived from the following two sentences :

- 1 a. *lærkan pər kita:b*      The boy read a book
- 2 b. *ko:ri li:ch ci:rh'*      The girl wrote a letter

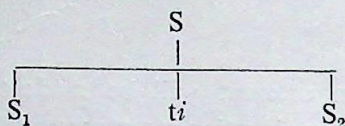
The sentence (2) is derived from the following two sentences :

- 2 a. *ra:jan por akhba:r*      Raj read the newspaper
- 2 b. *shi:lan por akhba:r*      Shiela read the newspaper

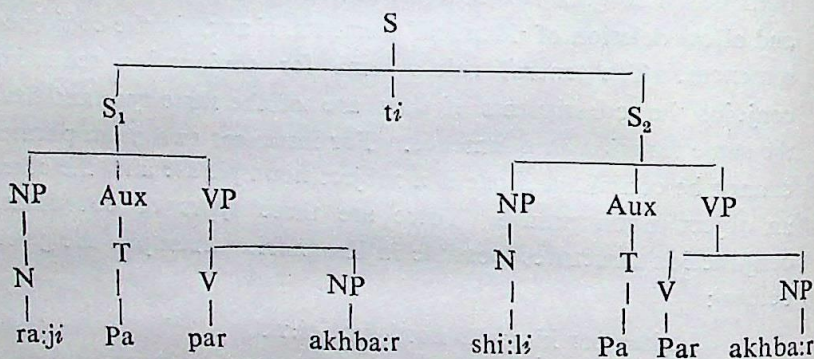


Sentence (3) is a paraphrase of sentence (2) and is also derived from the same pair of sentences.

All three types of coordinate conjunction structures can be derived from the following tree-structure :



It is obvious that sentences of the type (1) are formed simply by conjoining the two sentences by the coordinate conjunction morpheme. The deep structure of the sentences (2) and (3) can be diagrammed as below :



Sentences (2) and (3) are derived by a series of transformations. For deriving sentence (2), the identical elements are deleted from the second sentence, and the final transformations move the subject of the second sentence and the conjoining morpheme *ti* to form a compound noun phrase. In order to derive sentence (3), an optional reduction rule deletes the identical elements in the second sentence, and final transformations add a morpheme *ti* 'also' after the subject of the second sentences. Similarly, the following conjoined sentences are derived from the pairs of sentences given under each sentence :

- 4 larkki ti ko:ri chi yiva:n The boys and girls are coming  
 4 a larkki chi yiva:n The boys are coming



- 4 b. ko:ri chi yiva:n The girls are coming
5. mohnan kh'av bati Mohan ate food and (an)apple  
ti tsu:Nth
- 5 a. mohnan kh'av bati Mohan ate his meals
- 5 b. mohnan kh'av tsu:Nth Mohan ate an apple
6. yim sangitari chi bəD' These oranges are big ones  
ti mədir and sweet
- 6 a. yim sangitari chi bəD' These oranges are big ones
- 6 b. yim sangitari chi mədir' These oranges are sweet
7. tsi hekakh yi kə:m a:sə: You can do this work early  
ni: sa:n ti jalid kərith and fast
- 7 a. tsi hekakh yi kə:m a:sə: You can do this work easily  
ni: sa:n kərith
- 7 b. tsi hekakh yi kə:m jalid You can do this work fast  
kərith

6.2. In some ambiguous sentences with *ti*, there are two possible derivations of the sentences. The morpheme *ti* occurs in sentences with unit plural NPs at the phrase structural level and in sentence conjunctions at the transformational level. Consider the following examples :

8. sha:nti ti shi:li a:si sənima Shanta and shiela were  
vucha:n watching a movie
9. mohnan kor ra:mas ti Mohan invited Ram and  
ra:jas sa:l Raj

Two readings of the sentences —(a) and (b) below, interpret the compound subject or object as one unit and as a conjunction of the separate elements respectively :

- 8 a Shanta and Shiela were watching a movie together
- 8 b Shanta and Shiela were watching movies separately
- 9 a Ram and Raja were invited together by Mohan
- 9 b Ram and Raja were invited separately by Mohan



Thus, there are two possible and the deep structure will be different for each meaning. However, if certain optional devices are used along with sentence conjunctions, sentences like (8) and (9) will not remain ambiguous. Items like *yikivari/si:th' si:th'* "together", *prath ka'n'h* "every one" *alag alag* "separately" *ti* "also" etc., can be introduced by transformations to avoid the ambiguity in such sentences. For example :

- 10 a *sha:ntan ti shi:lan vuch alag alag mu:vi:*  
Shanta and Shiela saw the movie separately.
- 10 b *mohnan kor ra:mas ti Rajas alag alag sa:l*  
Mohan invited Rama and Raja separately (on two different occasions)

6.2.1 It is important to note that certain compound noun phrases and verb phrases are not ambiguous and they always form one unit in their deep structure. For example :

11. *mili hind'av mozu:rav ti milihind' mæ:likan kor samjo:ti*  
The mill workers and the owner of the mill came to an agreement
12. *te:ji ti ali: mi:l' ba:gas manz*      Tej and Ali met in the garden
13. *kishini ti nanisi: chi hishay*      Kishna and Nansi are alike
14. *tsor ti malə:y gatshi yikivari, khi:n'*      One should eat bread and cream together
15. *camnan ti səli:man g'ov bæ:th yikivari*      Chaman and salim sang a song together
16. *vipin ti bimla:chi ja:n ju:r'*      Vipin and Bimla are a nice couple'

The sentences (11)-(16) are not derived by conjoining the following pairs of sentences :

- 11 a \**mili hind'av mozu:rav kor samjo:ti*  
11 b *mili hind' mæ:likan kor samjo:ti*



- 12 a \*te:ji m'u:l ba:gas manz  
 12 b \*əli:m'u:l ba:gas manz  
 13 a \*kishini chi hishiy  
 13 b \*nanisi: chi hishy  
 14 a \*tsor gatshi khi:n' yikivari  
 14 b \*mələ:y gatshi khi:n' yikivari  
 15 a \*caminan g'av bə:th yikivari  
 15 b \*səli:man g'ov bə:th yikivari  
 16 a \*vipin chi ja:n ju:r'  
 16 b \*bimla: chi ja:n ju:r'

Thus it is important to maintain distinction between the sentences with unit noun phrases and sentences with separate entity plural noun phrases. The former can be produced at the phrase structural level of a grammar of Kashmiri, and the latter type by a conjunction transformation. If such a distinction is not maintained it would not be possible to account for the ambiguity of the sentences like (8) and (9) and the unambiguity of the sentences like (11)–(16).

6.2.2. It is possible to suggest that the sentences with unit noun phrase in Kashmiri can be derived from the sentences with Adverbial phrases. For example, the sentences (11)–(15) are synonymous with the sentences (11 A)–(15 A) respectively.

- 11 A mili hānd'av mozu:rav kor mili hāndis mə:likas si:t'  
 samjo:t'i

The mill workers reached at an agreement with the owner of the mill.

- 12 A te:ji m':ul əliyas ba:gas manz  
 Tej met Ali in the garden

- 13 A kishini chi nanisi hish  
 Kishna is like Nansi

- 14 A tsor gatshi mala:yi si:th' khi:n'  
 The bread should be eaten with cream

- 15 A camnan g'ov səli:mas si:th' bə:th

Chaman sang a song with Salim



Notice that the sentence (16A) is not synonymous with (16) :  
 16 A \*vipin chu bimla:yi sɪ:th' ja:n ju:r'

If an attempt is made to derive some phrasal conjunctions as in sentences (11)-(15) from sentences (11A)-15A) with adverbial phrases, we will not be able to account for sentences like (16). In such sentences the conjunction must occur in the base component.

6.2.3. As the sentences or parts of sentences are conjoined only in deep structure, they do not normally remain subordinate to each other. A universal fact concerning the deep structure conjunctions is that the semantic interpretation is independent of the order of conjoined elements or sentences. For example :

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| 17  | sum:ni ti sure:shan<br>vuch phutba:l me:c | Suman and Suresh saw the<br>foot-ball match' |
| 17A | sure:shan ti sum:ni<br>vuch phutba:l me:c | Suresh and Suman saw the<br>football match   |
| 18  | ra:ni: chi zith ti suni:ti<br>chi kɪ:ns   | Rani is elder and Svnita is<br>younger       |
| 18A | sun:ti chi kɪ:ns ti rani:<br>chi zith     | Sunita is younger and Rani is<br>elder       |

Notice that the use of *ti* in deep structure in this type of conjoined independent sentences (17) and (18) is different from the one in which the second sentence depends on the first one in its deep structure. In such sentences *ti* is like the *ti tamipati* 'and afterwards' type of conjunction morpheme in deep structure. For example :

- |    |                                    |   |
|----|------------------------------------|---|
| 19 | tsu:ras ləj gu:l' ti mu:d          | The thief was hit by a bullet<br>and he died            |
|    | is a paraphrase of the sentence    |   |
| 20 | tsu:ras ləj gu:l' tamipati<br>mu:d | The thief was hit by a bullet<br>and afterwards he died |



This sentence is not identical in meaning with

- 21    *tsu:r mu:d ti tsu:ras laj*    The thief died and the thief  
       *gu:l'*                                was hit by a bullet

On the basis of such data it can be suggested that the conjunction morpheme *ti* should be treated differently in the two types of the sentences above. In the former type (17 and 18), it is a conjunction morpheme *ti* in deep structure and in the second type (19), it is an adverbial *ti tamipati* 'and afterwards', where *tamipati* gets deleted by some transformational rule. Notice that *tamipati* occurs only in the latter type of *ti* constructions, and cannot occur in the former type of constructions :

- 17 B    *\*sumini ti tamipati sure:shan vuch phutba:l me:c*  
 18 B    *\*ra:ni: chi zith ti tamipati suni:ti chi ka:ns*

6.3. It is needless to say that two or more sentences cannot be conjoined without some constraint. There are both syntactic and semantic constraints on which coordinating conjunction structures depend. As pointed out above, the transformational operation of the coordinate conjoined structures involves mainly two processes- (i) deletion of the identical elements in the second sentence and (ii) conjoining the member conjuncts with the coordinating conjunction morpheme *ti*. The notion of identity, and the nature of 'similar' or 'like' structures of member conjuncts is important and need to be studied in detail.

The occurrence of morpheme to morpheme 'identical' lexical items which may be nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc. in two conjoining sentences seems to be the most general condition for type II and III structures. Consider the following examples :

- 22    *sohnan bu:z re:diyo ti le:chan zi cirhi*  
       Sohan listened to Radio and wrote two letters  
 23    *ra:da:yi vuch khe:l ti krishnan sanima*  
       Radha saw a play and Krishna a movie  
 24    *sar:lin' du:t' chi ni:j ti ra:ni: hinz v:zi:j*  
       Sarlas' sari is blue and Rani's is red



- 25 ra:man kin' tsu:Nth' ra:th ti si:ta:yi chəl' palav  
 Ram sold apples yesterday, and Sita washed her clothes
- 26 bi chus dōhay ə:thi baji daphtar gatsha:n ti su chu  
 ba:zar gatsha:n

I go to the office daily at 8 o' clock and he goes to the market.

The sentences with the identical lexical items are reduced to one in the above cited examples of conjoined structures :

- 22 a. **sohnan** bu:z re:diyo  
 Sohan listened to Radio
- 22 b. **sohnan** le:chi zi cirhi  
 Sohan wrote two letters
- 23 a. ra:da:yi **vuch** khe:l  
 Radha saw a play
- 23 b. krishnan **vuch** sənima-Krishna saw a movie
- 24 a. saril'in' **du:t'**chi ni:j  
 Sarla's sari is blue
- 24 b. ra:ni: hīnz **du:t'** chi ni:j  
 Rani's sari is red
- 25 a. ra:man kin' tsu:Nth' **ra:th**  
 Ram sold apples yesterday
- 25 b. si:ta:yi chəl' palav **ra:th**  
 Sita washed clothes yesterday
- 26 a. bi chus dōhay ə:thi baji **daphtar** gatsha:n  
 I go to the office daily at eight o' clock
- 26 b. su chu dōhay ə:thi **baji** ba:zar gatsha:n  
 He goes to the market daily at eight o' clock.

The deletable lexical items must not be merely morpheme to morpheme identical, but must be identical in meaning also. We cannot conjoin sentences with such identical morphemes or phrases which are not identical in meaning, and have different representations at the surface level. Consider the following examples :



- |       |                              |                       |
|-------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 27 a. | nisa:ras log dab             | Nisar fell down       |
| 27 b. | nisa:ras log hor             | Nisar got soar throat |
| 27.   | *nisa:ras log dab ti hor     |                       |
| 28 a. | mohnas a:yi drakh            | Mohan vomitted        |
| 28 b. | mohnas a:yi nendir           | Mohan felt sleepy     |
| 28.   | *mohnas a:yi drakh ti nendir |                       |

In these pairs of sentences *log* in the sentence 27b (*dab lagun* 'to fall down') is different from *log* in the sentence 27 b (*hor lagun* 'to get soar throat'). Similarly, *a:yi* in the sentence 28a (*drakh yin* 'to vomit') is different from *a:yi* in the sentence 28 b (*nendir yin* 'to feel sleepy'). Therefore these sentences cannot be conjoined. The notion of identity of reference is also important. Example :

- |      |                     |                  |
|------|---------------------|------------------|
| 29a. | yi ku:r cha g'ava:n | This girl sings  |
| 29b. | yi ku:r cha natsa:n | This girl dances |

Here the subject noun phrases are morpheme to morpheme identical but they are different in reference. Hence the coordinately conjoined sentence

29. yi ku:r cha g'ava:n ti natsa:n This girl sings and dances  
can be interpreted as the same girl sings and dances.

The conjunction morpheme *ti* conjoins sentences or parts of sentences of similar syntactic structures. The following pairs of sentences cannot be conjoined because the member conjuncts are not of the same structure or 'similar' :

- |      |                                       |                            |
|------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 30a. | me cha ca:y pasand                    | I like tea                 |
| 30b. | me cha ka:m karin' pasand             | I like to work             |
| 30.  | *me cha ca:y ti ka:m karin' pasand    |                            |
| 31a. | sali:m yi:yi zeru:r                   | Salim will come definitely |
| 31b. | sali:m yi:yi mohnas si:th'            | Salim will come with Mohan |
| 31.  | *sali:m yi:yi zeru:r ti mohnas si:th' |                            |



- 32a. sarli cha bema:r                      Sarla is sick  
 32b. sarli cha sku:las manz              Sarla is in School  
 32. \*sarli cha bema:r ti sku:las manz

The conjunction morpheme *ti* doesnot conjoin two or more conjuncts which are morpheme to morpheme and in reference identical e.g.,

- 33 a. mohnan ən' akhba:r                  Mohan brought newspapers  
 33 b. mohnan ən' akhba:r                  Mohan brought newspapers  
 33. \*mohnan ən' akhba:r ti akhba:r

One member of the conjunction must not be an inclusive of the conjunction e.g.,

- 34 a. zana:ni cha vədini                  Women are standing  
 34 b. lukh chi vədini                      People are standing  
 34. \*zana:ni ti lukh chi vədini

It is grammatical to conjoin two simple statements, two imperatives etc., but not a statement and a question, a statement and an imperative, or interrogative and an imperative, etc. Consider the following examples :

- 35a. mohni kar yi:yi ?                      When will Mohan come ?  
 35b. toh' kar gətshiv ?                      When will you go ?  
 35. mohni kar yi:yi ti toh' kar gətshiv  
 36a. darva:zi kar band                      Close the door  
 36b. kita:b par                                  Read the book  
 36. darva:zi kar band ti kita:b par  
 37a. ra:mi kar yi:yi ?                      When will Ram come ?  
 37b. su chu ja:n lərki                      He is a good boy  
 37. \*ra:mi kar yi:yi ti su chu ja:n lərki  
 38a. toh' k'a:zi a:yivi tsi:r'                  Why did you come late ?  
 38b. darva:zi kəriv band                  Please close the door  
 38. \*toh' k'a:zi a:yivi tsi:r' ti darva:zi kəriv band

Two or more than two sentences can be conjoined if they refer to the same general topic or share a similar 'theme'. Several types of relations between such conjuncts of conjoined sentences are possible. The sentences conjoined must follow a particular sequence of tenses, time expressions and descriptions also.



## Reduplication

7.0. In Linguistic studies, the term Reduplication is generally used to mean repetition of any Linguistic unit such as a phoneme, morpheme, word, phrase, clause or the utterance as a whole. The process of Reduplication at all these levels is very significant both from the grammatical as well as semantic point of view. The repetition types of these Linguistic units may be broadly classified under two categories: repetition at the (a) expression level, and repetition at the (b) content or semantic level. The reduplication of these Linguistic units is a very common feature found in Kashmiri. The repetition at both these levels is mainly used for emphasis, generality, intensity, or to show continuation of an act. In certain cases, the repetition of a particular Linguistic unit is obligatory. Here an attempt has been made to indicate the process of Reduplication of various Linguistic units in Kashmiri at both expression level as well as at the semantic level. Complete reduplication of morphemes, words and phrases have been discussed first. This is followed by a discussion of partial reduplication of words which are best known as Echo-words. Onomatopoeic words, which involve complete reduplication have also been discussed briefly.

### 7.1. Repetition at the Expression Level

At the expression level, the word classes which may be repeated include nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. The repetition of single morphemes or words of all form classes are frequently used in utterances. The examples of these repetition types are given below :

#### *Nouns and Pronouns*

A number of nouns and pronouns are repeated in utterances very frequently :



1. shur' shur' a:yi sə:riy va:pas All the children returned
2. su chu sombra:va:n tilimi He is collecting by pieces  
tilimi
3. me gav zari zari təmis vuchith I was pained to see him
4. prath ka:nh chu pa:nas Everybody takes care of  
pa:nas va:ta:n himself
5. pə:nsi pə:nsi kərith sombrə:v' He raised lot of money  
təm' va:riyah d'a:r penny by penny
6. yus vus tsir' a:v su su tuliv Those ones who came late  
athi thod may raise their hands up
7. yemis yemis sku:l chu gatshun Those who have to go to  
təmis təmis pazi basi khasun school should board the  
bus

In the examples given above, repetition in the sentences 1, 6 and 7 is used for emphasis and generality.

#### *Adjectives*

Reduplication of adjectives is very frequently used in a number of cases for emphasis.

#### *Examples :*

8. ja:n ja:n tsu:nth' tsə:riv Please sort out good apples
9. yi v'əth v'əth ku:r cha This fat girl studies in a  
ka:liji para:n College
10. yimi cha ləkci ləkci ko:ri These are small girls
11. pa:ntsh pa:ntsh thu:l di Give five eggs each to every  
prath kə:nsi one
12. me chu tot tot bati I like hot food  
khəsh kara:n
13. yi z'u:th z'u:th lərki This tall boy belongs to my  
chu m'a:ni ga:muk Village
14. yim tshot' tshot' lərki These short statured boys do  
chi yetiy para:n study here



Repetition in the sentences 8 and 11 is obligatory. The Reduplication in these sentences indicate plurality.

### Verbs

In a number of grammatical constructions, the repetition of verbs is obligatory. Verbs also are reduplicated optionally in certain constructions. Following are examples of sentences where verbs are obligatorily repeated :

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 15. me bu:z re:diyo bati kh'ava:n                                | I listened to radio while eating my meals                   |
| 16. asa:n asa'n tsol t̄emis osh<br>ni:rith əchav kin'            | His eyes were filled with tears while laughing              |
| 17. temis log dab do:ra:n do:<br>ra: n                           | He fell down while running                                  |
| 18. su a:v gar̄i vada:n vada:n                                   | He came home while weeping                                  |
| 19. phurba:l ginda:n ginda:n<br>log t̄emis kh̄oras               | While playing football he hurt his foot                     |
| 20. ca:y cava:n cava:n o:s su<br>maji si:th' kath̄i kara:n       | While drinking his tea he was talking with his mother       |
| 21. t̄em' kor panun pa:n khara:b<br>philm̄i vuch' vuch'          | He ruined himself by watching movies'                       |
| 22. hat̄ibaz̄i kita:bi p̄ar' p̄ar' ti<br>chuni tas tasle: yiva:n | He does not feel satisfied even after reading hundred books |

Repetition of verbs in the above sentences is obligatory. The sentences will be ungrammatical if repetitions of the verbs are deleted.

15a \*me bu:z re:diyo bati kh'ava:n

16a \*asa:n tsol t̄emis osh ni:rith əchav kin'

17a \*temis log dab do:ra:n

18a \*su a:v gar̄i vada:n



- 19a \*phurbal ginda:n log t̃amis kh̃oras  
 20a \*ca:y cava:n o:s su ma:ji s̃ith' kath̃ kara:n  
 21a t̃am' kor panun pa:n khara:b philm̃i vuch'  
 22a \*hat̃i bazi kita:b̃i p̃ar' ti chu ni tas tasle: yiva:n

### Adverbs

The repetition of some adverbs is compulsory and it is optional in some cases :

23. yi bud̃i chu paka:n va:ri va:ri This old man walks slowly  
 23a \*yi bud̃i chu paka:n va:ri  
 24. ra:mi chu asa:n zo:ri zo:ri Ram laughs loudly  
 25. bi tsa:s kurhis manz l̃oti l̃oti I entered the room slowly  
 25a \*bi tsa:s kurhis manz l̃oti  
 26. suban suban cha t̃i:r a:sa:n It is cold in the mornings  
 27. bi chus to:r gatsha:n sha:man I go there in the evenings  
     sha:man  
 27a \*bi chus to:r gatsha:n sha:man  
 28. su k̃ap̃ar' k̃ap̃ar a:v ? Where from did he come ?  
 29. yot yot go:s, tati tati bu:z' Wherever I went, I heard  
     me t̃am' sind' t̃o:ri:ph good things about him  
 30. yap̃ar' yap̃ar' əs' chi paka:n Where from we walk, they  
     tim ti chi tap̃ar' tap̃ar' also take the same root  
     paka:n  
 31. su chu manzi manzi yo:r yiva:n

### One Word Utterances

Some types of one word utterances may also be repeated in Kashmiri. Repetition, here, is used only for emphasis or persuasion. One word utterances, comprising the imperative forms of the verbs are often reduplicated. Repetition of such linguistic items indicates an extra urge or persuasion of an act. Following are the examples of this type of repetition :

- |             |       |                 |                |
|-------------|-------|-----------------|----------------|
| gatsh gatsh | go    | getshiv getshiv | (Please) go    |
| an an       | bring | əniv əniv       | (Please) bring |
| ni ni       | take  | ñiyiv ñiyiv   | (Please) take  |



|           |      |               |               |
|-----------|------|---------------|---------------|
| di di     | give | diiyiv diyiv  | (Please) give |
| chal chal | wash | chəliv chəliv | (Please) wash |

Question particles are also repeated in certain situations where the person is curious to know about complete details.

Examples :

|           |      |           |          |
|-----------|------|-----------|----------|
| k'a: k'a: | what | kus kus   | who      |
| kar kar   | when | ku:t ku:t | how much |

### *Clauses and Phrases*

Certain clauses or phrases are repeated in long utterances or narrations by both the speaker and the listener. The repetition of such utterances breaks the monotony of the narration, allows a pause for the listener to comprehend the situation and also provides an opportunity for the speaker to recollect the facts and to change the style of narration.

Examples :

|                       |                            |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| torva: phikri ?       | Did you understand ?       |
| bu:ziva: tōhi ?       | Did you listen ?           |
| tamipati k'a: sapud ? | What happened afterwards ? |
| beyi k'a: sapud ?     | What else did happen ?     |

Clauses or phrases of the above type vary in terms of the situation, context and persons involved in conversation.

## **7.2. Repetition at the Semantic Level**

Repetition at the semantic level is not an unknown feature of the Kashmiri language. Different types of examples which involve the repetition at the semantic level are mostly used to express generality. Following are different types of examples where we find the repetition at the semantic level :

7.2.1. A number of synonymic compounds illustrate the phenomena of repetition at the semantic level as given below :



|                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| pə:nsi tu:nk'  | money in general  |
| kond ka:th     | work in general   |
| palav pasha:k  | dress             |
| vosi drəsi     | hustle and bustle |
| tsu:r tsheph   | theft             |
| yatsh patsh    | belief            |
| bə:y ba:rin'   | brothers          |
| tsə:nzi də:yi  | female servants   |
| band ba:ndav   | relatives         |
| hakh hamsa:yi  | neighbours        |
| ba:ni barhi    | pots              |
| she:run pə:run | to decorate       |
| tshenun phurun | to be tired       |
| kam kəli:l     | less              |
| hol kol        | twisted           |
| v'oth pu:th    | fat               |
| ə:v'ul zə:v'ul | delicate          |
| m'u:th modur   | sweet             |
| phuti phra:ti  | broken pieces     |
| ma:y məlbath   | love              |
| ang ə:shina:v  | relatives         |
| to:r təri:ki   | method            |
| shur' kəT'     | children          |
| kə:m kor       | work              |
| sa:d sant      | saint             |
| vadun rivun    | to weep           |
| karun kra:vun  | to do             |
| ralun me:lun   | to mix up         |

7.3. Besides the reduplication types indicated above, reduplication may be studied with reference to the words which form the basic unit for the process of reduplication. It is therefore necessary to study all types of repetitions which take place within the word as a unit. Repetition of a sequence of phonemes of the word stem may form either complete reduplication or partial reduplication. Examples of the complete reduplication within the word are as follows:



|            |                                   |
|------------|-----------------------------------|
| garigari   | from house to house               |
| kharikhari | patting on animals                |
| vuzivuzi   | desire                            |
| tharithari | trembling                         |
| matimati   | patting in praise or appreciation |

In certain cases vowel /i/ is inserted before the word which is reduplicated. e.g., :

|               |                  |
|---------------|------------------|
| tshratitshrat | to be in trouble |
|---------------|------------------|

In the study of the internal composition of the word, reduplication of phonemes is very crucial. If the stem is repeated completely it is called complete reduplication and if the stem is repeated partially it is called partial reduplication.

### 7.3.1. Echo Words

Reduplication in Echo words is always partial. In Kashmiri, the process of echo-formation is very common and simple. At the semantic level, echo words give an additional meaning indicating 'generality' or the meaning of similar nature or type of thing, action, manner and quality etc., which is indicated by the original word stem. Therefore we may add 'and the like' in the gloss of the echo-words. For example : po:n' water, po:n'vo:n' 'water and the like'. In the examples given below meanings of the original words have been given.

Echo words are formed mainly by altering the first phoneme of the stem in the reduplication of the stem. This is a very common and frequent type of echo-word formation in Kashmiri. The following changes in vowels may be noted in the echo-formation :

The Initial/v/ of the word stem is replaced by /p/ in the echo word as in the following examples :

|                 |         |               |             |
|-----------------|---------|---------------|-------------|
| və:j pə:j       | ring    | vath path     | way         |
| va:zi pa:zi     | cook    | va:n pa:n     | shop        |
| va:ngun pa:ngun | bringal | və:zul pə:zul | red         |
| vuchun puchun   | to see  | vaguv paguv   | a straw mat |
| va:di pa:di     | promise | vo:n' po:n'   | shopkeeper  |



The initial /p/ and /ph/ of the word stem is replaced by /v/ as in the following examples of echo-words :

|               |         |                |            |
|---------------|---------|----------------|------------|
| po:n' vo:n'   | water   | po:sh vo:sh    | flower     |
| pu:za: vu:za: | worship | pash vash      | roof       |
| pal val       | stone   | phal val       | fruit      |
| phot vot      | basket  | phand vand     | deceit     |
| pho:j vo:j    | army    | pho:tu: vo:tu: | photograph |
| phar var      | fur     | pho:n vo:n     | phone      |

The initial consonants other than /v/, /p/ and /ph/ of the word stem may be replaced by /v/.

Examples :

|                   |          |               |              |
|-------------------|----------|---------------|--------------|
| køkur vøkur       | cock     | ku:r vu:r     | girl         |
| kən' vən'         | stone    | khar var      | donkey       |
| kha:m va:m        | raw      | khər vər      | foot         |
| gər vər           | watch    | gagur vagur   | mouse        |
| gula:b vula:b     | rose     | co:r vo:r     | dumb         |
| ca:y va:y         | tea      | co'n v'on     | to drink     |
| chalun valun      | to wash  | cha:n va:n    | carpenter    |
| chon von          | empty    | tsu:r vu:r    | thief        |
| tsarun varun      | to cut   | tshal val     | deceit       |
| tshor vor         | empty    | tsha:ND va:ND | search       |
| jom vom           | Jammu    | ja:y va:y     | place        |
| jøy vøy           | stream   | zor vor       | deaf         |
| zar var           | money    | za:n va:n     | acquaintance |
| tama:tar vama:tar | tomatoes | ta:rh va:rh   | mat          |
| T'oth vorth       | bitter   | Thu:l vu:l    | egg          |
| Tha:ni va:ni      | lid      | dandi vandi   | stick        |
| Dar var           | fear     | to:ti vo:ti   | parrot       |



|             |          |             |               |
|-------------|----------|-------------|---------------|
| ta:j va:j   | crown    | ta:r va:r   | wire          |
| tha:l va:l  | plate    | tham vam    | pillar        |
| thən'vən'   | butter   | da:ni va:ni | paddy         |
| dəd vəd     | milk     | da:s va:s   | servant       |
| nalki valki | tap      | nas vas     | nose          |
| bar var     | door     | batı vati   | food          |
| bas vas     | bus      | mo:zi vo:zi | socks         |
| mas vas     | hair     | ya:r va:r   | friend        |
| yad vad     | belly    | ye:r ve:r   | wool          |
| rath vath   | blood    | raz vaz     | rope          |
| ru:s vu:s   | Russia   | lu:r vu:r   | stick         |
| lot vor     | tail     | shur vur    | child         |
| shi:n vi:n  | snow     | sha:m va:m  | evening       |
| sa:z va:z   | music    | sir vir     | secret        |
| soth voth   | bund     | hash vash   | mother-in-law |
| hos vos     | elephant | ha:r va:r   | necklace      |

The initial consonant cluster is replaced by a single consonant /v/ in the echo-word. Examples :

|              |                |            |           |
|--------------|----------------|------------|-----------|
| tre:sh ve:sh | drinking water | drog vog   | expensive |
| srog vog     | cheap          | dro:t vo:t | sickle    |
| gra:kh va:kh | customer       | pra:n va:n | garlic    |
| pras vas     | press          | pron von   | fair      |

If the word stem starts with a vowel, /v/ is inserted in the initial position of the echo-word. Examples :

|                |                   |                |               |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|
| əch vəch       | eye               | ə:s və:s       | mouth         |
| amb vamb       | mango             | ə:ni və:ni     | mirror        |
| a:dath va:dath | habit             | isla:h visla:h | shave         |
| i:d vi:d       | Id                | era:di vera:di | determination |
| e:la:n ve:la:n | announce-<br>ment | o:l vo:l       | nest          |

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#### 7.4. *Onomatopoeic words*

There exists an important referential relationship between the form and meaning of lexical items. In certain cases the sound sequence of the word in itself denotes the particular meaning of the form. In such examples the utterances of lexical items by themselves sound the meaning they stand for. Such forms of lexical items are known as onomatopoeic. In the 'ono' word, the sound of the word has a special significance which illustrates the meaning. The onomatopoeic words represent an imitation of a particular sound or imitation of an action along with the sound, etc. Some ono words are reduplicated and others are not. Here are the examples of those, onomatopoeic words which are reduplicated. In the following examples, there is a complete reduplication :

|                      |                                   |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>kir kir</i>       | squeak of doors, windows etc.     |
| <i>gir gir</i>       | noise of the running of a vehicle |
| <i>thin' thin'</i>   | noise of a bell                   |
| <i>gi:th gi:th</i>   | noise of the drinking of water    |
| <i>ci:riv ci:riv</i> | twittering of birds               |
| <i>tikrik</i>        | the ticking of watch              |
| <i>dum dum</i>       | beating of drums                  |
| <i>pir pir</i>       | unnecessary talking               |
| <i>pa:N pa:N</i>     | noise of horn                     |
| <i>thu: thu:</i>     | spitting                          |
| <i>bak bak</i>       | unnecessary and constant talking  |
| <i>voph voph</i>     | barking of a dog.                 |



## Kinship Terms

8.0. The kinship terms in a language are understood and used in a particular cultural context. In the study of kinship terms, it is, therefore, important to keep in view the cultural or sociological patterns of a given society in which these terms are used. In this section an attempt will be made to classify the kinship terms in Kashmiri into two broad categories : (1) consanguineal and (2) affinal. The dimensions of (i) generation (ii) lineal (direct ancestors and direct discedents) vs. collateral (kinsmen disceded from one's own ancestors i.e. uncles, brothers, nephews etc.) and (iii) sex though important in the study of kinship terms, have not been described separately in the current study. While presenting the description of kinship terms, modes of address which are closely related with the kinship terms have also been given.

### 8.1 Consanguineal kinship terms

The Consanguineal kinship terms may be classified as closest blood relations, and distant blood relations. In the distant blood relations, various types of categories are possible.

#### 8.1.1. Closest blood relations

|       |             |      |              |
|-------|-------------|------|--------------|
| mo:l  | F (father)  | mə:ʃ | M (mother)   |
| bo:y  | B (brother) | beni | Si (sister)  |
| necuv | So (son)    | ku:r | D (daughter) |

#### 8.1.2. Distant blood relations

The following kinship terms are used for distant kinsmen :

|         |                       |
|---------|-----------------------|
| bunibab | FF, MF (grand father) |
| na:n    | FM, MM (grand mother) |



|            |                         |
|------------|-------------------------|
| ma:s       | MSi (mother's sister)   |
| poph       | FSi (father's sister)   |
| ma:m       | MB (mother's brother)   |
| petir      | FB (father's brother)   |
| benthir    | SiSo (sister's son)     |
| benzi      | SiD (sister's daughter) |
| ba:pothi'r | BSo (brother's son)     |
| bavizi     | BD (brother's daughter) |

### 8.1.3. Compound kinship terms

A number of compound kinship terms are formed by adding modifiers and/or affixes to the base kinship terms. For example suffixes **badi** or **jadi** are added to **budibab** and **na:n'** to denote the kinship terms which are more remote in geneological distance :

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| badi budibab | FFF, FMF, MFF, MMF (great grand father) |
| badi na:n'   | FFM, FMM, MFM, MMM (great grand mother) |
| jadi budibab | FFF, FMF, MFF, MMF (great grand father) |

Similarly, certain modifiers in compound constructions are used to denote another type of geneological relationship :

|               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| petir budibab | FFB, MFB   |
| petir na:n'   | FFBW, MFBW |

The modifiers **pitur** (m) and **pitir** (f) are used to denote the first cousin relationship as in the following examples :

|             |       |            |       |
|-------------|-------|------------|-------|
| pitur bo:y  | FBSO  | pitur ma:n | MFBSO |
| pitur petir | FFBSO | pitir beni | FBD   |
| pitir ma:s  | MFBD  | pitir poph | FFBD  |

**tur** (m) and **tir** (f) suffixes are added to certain kinship terms which change them into modifiers in some examples. These modifiers are used to specify remote geneological relationship, as in the following examples :

|               |       |               |       |
|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|
| mamitur bo:y  | MBSO  | ma:situr bo:y | MSiSo |
| pophitur bo:y | FSiSo | mamitir beni  | MBD   |



|               |       |               |        |
|---------------|-------|---------------|--------|
| ma:sit̃r beni | MSiD  | ma:sit̃r ma:m | MMSiSo |
| ma:sit̃r ma:s | MMSiD | pophit̃r ma:m | MFSiSo |
| pophit̃r poph | FMBD  | pophit̃r beni | FSiD   |
| ma:mit̃r ma:m | MMBSO | ma:mit̃r ma:s | MMBD   |

The modifiers pitur (m) and pit̃r (f) can also be used with these terms to denote further remote geneological relationship, as in the following examples :

|                     |         |
|---------------------|---------|
| pitur ma:mit̃r bo:y | MFBSOSo |
| pitur ma:sit̃r bo:y | MFBDSo  |
| pitur pophit̃r bo:y | FFBDSo  |
| pit̃r ma:mit̃r beni | MFBSO   |
| pit̃r ma:sit̃r beni | MFBD    |
| pit̃r pophit̃r beni | FFBD    |

The modifier vo:ri 'step' is used with some geneological kinship terms to mark remote geneological relationship as in the following examples :

|             |         |             |         |
|-------------|---------|-------------|---------|
| vo:ri mo:l  | step F  | vo:ri m̃ə:j | step M  |
| vo:ri bo:y  | step B  | vo:ri beni  | step Si |
| vo:ri necuv | step So | vo:ri ku:r  | step D  |

vo:ri may be used with distant relatives also :

|             |                    |               |                    |
|-------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| vo:ri pet̃r | F step B           | vo:ri ma:m    | M step B           |
| vo:ri poph  | F step Si          | vo:ri budibab | F step F, M step F |
| vo:ri na:n' | F step M, M step M |               |                    |

Certain kinship terms are formed with the help of the genitive markers of **sund** and **hund**, as in the following examples :

|                                 |        |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| neciv' sund necuv               | SoSo   |
| neciv' sindis neciv' sund necuv | SoSoSo |
| m̃ə:l' sund mo:l                | FF     |
| m̃ə:l' sindis m̃ə:l' sund mo:l  | FFF    |
| ko:ri h̃anz ku:r                | DD     |
| ko:ri h̃anz ko:ri h̃anz ku:r    | DDD    |



Such phrases are generally used for indicating the kinship relations explicitly. They cover those relations where no specific terms are used.

## 8.2. Affinal kinship terms

Affinal kinship terms are those which represent the kinship relations as a result of marriage. Affinal kinship terms may also be classified in different sub-categories. There is more than one kinship term used for some kinsmen. Following are the affinal kinship terms :

8.2.1. 'Husband' and 'wife' are closest affinal kinsmen. Following are the kinship terms used to mark this relationship :

|                                 |             |
|---------------------------------|-------------|
| kha:vand/ru:n/bartha:/kha:nda:r | H (husband) |
| zana:n/kōlay/triy/kha:nda:ren'  | W (wife)    |

**ru:n** and **zana:n** are very common kinship terms used by all the communities of kashmir. **bartha:** and **triy** are mostly used by Kashmiri Hindus. The terms **kha:nda:r** and **kha:nda:ren'** denote the ownership of household. The man who is the head of the family is called **kha:nda:r** and the woman who is the head of the family is called **kha:nda:ren'**. These terms are generally understood in the sense of 'husband' and 'wife' respectively.

8.2.2. Following are the kinship terms associated with the affinal category :

|           |       |              |        |
|-----------|-------|--------------|--------|
| druy      | HB    | driyka:kan'  | HBW    |
| h'ochar   | HF,WF | hash         | HM, WM |
| d'a:rthir | HBSO  | za:m         | HSi    |
| zə:miyi   | HSiH  | be:mi        | SiH    |
| həhar     | WB    | hohvir'ba:y  | WBW    |
| sa:l      | WSi   | sə: juv      | WSiH   |
| zə:m'thur | HSiSo | zə:mizi      | HSiD   |
| za:mitur  | DH    | benziza:mtur | SiDH   |
| nōth      | SOW   | pophuv       | FSiH   |
| ma:suv    | MSiH  |              |        |



8.2.3. The prefixes **bad̩** can be added to **h'ohar** and **hash** to denote a distant relationship :

**bad̩h'ohar**

**bad̩hash**

HFF, WFF, HMF, WMF

HMM, WMM, HFM, WFM

8.2.4. The modifiers **pitur** (m), **pitir** (f) and **vo:ri** 'step' are added to the kinship terms in 8.2.2. and 8.2.3. for indicating distant relationship as in the following examples :

**pitur druy**

**pitur/petiri h'ohar**

**pitir/petiri hash**

**pitir za:m**

**pitur be:mi**

**pitur bad̩h'ohar**

**pitir bad̩hash**

**vo:ri druy**

**vo:ri be:mi**

**vo:ri hash**

HFBSo

HFB, WFB

HFBW, WFBW

HFBD

FBDH

HFFB, WFFB

HMFBW, WMFBW

H step B

step SiH

H step M, W step M

Similarly the modifiers of the kinship terms like **pophitur** (m), **pophitir** (f), **ma:mitur** (m), **ma:mitir** (f), **masitur** (m) and **ma:sitir** (f) may be added to the affinal kinship terms described in 8.2.2. and 8.2.3. above in order to denote distant relationship as in the following examples :

**pophitur druy**

**pophitir driyka:kan'**

**pophitur be:mi**

**pophitir bayka:kan'**

**ma:mitur h'ohar**

**ma:mitir sa:l**

**ma:mitur se:juv**

**ma:mitir za:m**

**ma:mitur za:miyi**

**ma:situr druy**

HFSiSo

HFSiSoW

FSiDH

FSiSoW

WMBSO

WMBD

WMBDH

HMBD

HMBDH

HMSiSo

The kinship terms **ma:m**, **poph**, and **ma:s** are added as modifiers to the affinal kinship terms of **h'ohar** 'father-in-law' and



**hash** 'mother-in-law', in order to mark the distant relationship. The vowel /i/ is suffixed to the kinship terms for making them modifiers, as in the following examples :

|               |              |
|---------------|--------------|
| pəphi h'ohar  | HFSiH, WFSiH |
| pəphi hash    | HFSi, WFSi   |
| ma:mi h'ohar  | HMB, WMB     |
| ma:mi hash    | HMBW, WMBW   |
| petiri h'ohar | HFB, WFB     |
| petiri hash   | HFBW, WFBW   |
| ma:si h'ohar  | HMSiH, WMSiH |
| ma:si hash    | HMSi, WMSi   |

There are a few common affinal kinship terms used to mark the relationship between the parental families of the wife and husband.

|            |               |
|------------|---------------|
| son'       | DHF, SoWF     |
| son'an     | DHM, SoWM     |
| son' gobur | DHyB, SoWyB   |
| son'ku:r   | DHySi, SoWySi |

**son'** is also used for the 'in-laws' of a son or daughter. Even sister's or brother's in-laws are termed as **son'**. The term indicates the relationship between the two families, the offsprings of whom have entered into a wedlock. **son'urh karun** is the phrase used for entering into this relationship by two families, by performing a wedlock of their off-spring in each other's family.

The modifier **mangiti** 'adopted' is used with a restricted number of kinship terms to denote a close relationship. For instance,

|               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| mangiti necuv | adopted So |
| mangiti ku:r  | adopted D  |

**mangiti** as a modifier is used only with **necuv** 'son' and **ku:r** 'daughter.' Though indicating very close relationship, it cannot be placed under the category of blood relationship.



The modifiers *anihu:r* 'unmarried' (m.s.), *anihi:r* (m.p.), *anihərish* (f.s.), *anihərishi* (f.p.) are used with certain kinship terms to indicate the marital status of a person, e.g.,

|                                    |                           |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>anihu:r</i> <i>necuv/lərki</i>  | unmarried son/boy         |
| <i>anihi:r</i> <i>neciv'/lərki</i> | unmarried sons/boys       |
| <i>anihərish</i> <i>ku:r</i>       | unmarried daughter/girl   |
| <i>anihərishi</i> <i>ko:ri</i>     | unmarried daughters/girls |

The modifiers of *ne:tri gra:kh* married (m.s.), *ne:tri gra:kan* (f.s.), *hər'sho:mut* (m.s.) *hər'shə:mət'*, (f.s.) and *hər'shə:matsi* (f. p.) are used with kinship terms to indicate marital status. e.g.,

|                                   |            |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| <i>ne:trigra:kh</i> <i>necuv</i>  | married So |
| <i>ne:trigra:kan</i> <i>ku:r</i>  | married D  |
| <i>hər'sho:mut</i> <i>necuv</i>   | married So |
| <i>hər'shə:mit'</i> <i>neciv'</i> | married So |
| <i>hər'shə:mits</i> <i>ku:r</i>   | married D  |
| <i>hər'shə:matsi: ko:ri</i>       | married D  |

These modifiers may also be used independently to denote the marital status of a person in context.

Certain terms are used to denote that a man or a woman is married and has children also. They may be used both independently as well as modifiers. For example :

|  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| <i>shur' vo:l/shur'mur' vo:l</i>       | The man having children   |
| <i>shur' va:jen'/shur'mur' vaje'n'</i> | The women having children |

There are several terms related with the marital status of a person which denote an important relationship with particular families e. g.,

|                |                                     |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>ho:hvur</i> | man's in-laws, wife's parents' home |
| <i>və:r'uv</i> | husband's home, woman's in-laws     |
| <i>ma:l'un</i> | woman's parents' home               |

*baɖi* prefix is added to *ho:hvur* and *və:r'uv* to denote a distant relationship in a family. e.g.,

|                     |                                  |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>baɖi ho:hvur</i> | wife's mother's parents' home    |
| <i>baɖi və:r'uv</i> | husband's mother's parents' home |



8.3. The modes of address in Kashmiri are closely related with kinship terms. Different types of modes of address are used among kinsmen. We will here indicate only a few modes of address which show the relationship with the kinship terms.

8.3.1. Certain honorific suffixes are added to kinship terms in order to form modes of address. The resulting modes of address undergo certain phonological changes also. e.g.,

|              |   |            |
|--------------|---|------------|
| bo:y + tɔ:Th | = | bə:y tɔ:Th |
| bo:y + sə:b  | = | bə:y sə:b  |
| bo:y + ji:   | = | bə:yji:    |
| bo:y + la:l  | = | bə:yla:l   |
| bo:y + ja:n  | = | bə:yja:n   |
| bo:y + ra:ji | = | bə:yra:ji  |
| bo:y + gashɪ | = | bə:yga:shɪ |
| bo:y + jigur | = | bə:yjigur  |

In the examples given above, different honorific suffixes are added to the kinship term **bo:y** 'brother' while changing it into modes of address. The modes of address formed are used not only for an elder brother but may be used for cousins, uncles and other elder males or for the persons for whom respect is intended. Sometimes, when an adult addresses his elder brother or relation with a particular mode, his children use the same mode of address for the same person. Therefore, we find persons using these terms for distant relatives as well.

8.3.2. Similarly, the following honorific suffixes may be added to **beni** 'sister' while forming modes of address :

|              |   |           |
|--------------|---|-----------|
| beni + tɔ:Th | = | benitɔ:Th |
| beni + gə:sh | = | benigə:sh |
| beni + d'ad  | = | benid'ad  |
| beni + jigər | = | benijigər |
| beni + ji :  | = | ben'ji :  |

These modes of address may be used not only for elder sister but for other relations of cousins etc., as well for indicating sisterly affection or respect.



8 3.3. The following honorific suffixes are added to **ma:m** MB and **ma:man'** MBW for changing them into modes of address :

**ma:m + to:th**  
**ma:man' + jigir**  
**ma:m + ji:**

**ma:mi to:th**  
**ma:man'jigir**  
**ma:ma:ji:**

These modes of address are used for distant kinsmen on the mother's side, besides the real MB and MBW.

8.3.4. There are a number of modes of address used independently for elder and younger kinsmen. It is not possible to formulate definite rules in their use. Each term may be used for more than one kinsmen depending on the acquired habit of the speaker. Some of these terms are given below :

|                      |                         |                      |                    |
|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| <b>bab</b>           | <b>F, FF, eB</b>        | <b>ga:shi</b>        | <b>F, FB, B</b>    |
| <b>la:li (sə:b)</b>  | <b>F, FF, eB</b>        | <b>to:th</b>         | <b>F, FB, eB</b>   |
| <b>ta:thi (sə:b)</b> | <b>F, FB, eB</b>        | <b>bo:bjj :</b>      | <b>F, EB, eB</b>   |
| <b>ka:kh</b>         | <b>P, FB, eB</b>        | <b>ka:kan'</b>       | <b>M, FBW</b>      |
| <b>mə:j</b>          | <b>M</b>                | <b>ba:bi:</b>        | <b>eBW, M, FBW</b> |
| <b>d'ad</b>          | <b>M, MM, FM</b>        | <b>tə:th/tə:thi:</b> | <b>Si, BW, D</b>   |
| <b>jigir</b>         | <b>eSi, FSi, MSi, M</b> | <b>di:di:</b>        | <b>eSi</b>         |

As indicated above the modes of address are used in a liberal sense. Modes of address do not differentiate the distinctions among real and cousin, blood relation and affinal etc. Some modes of address may be used not only in distant relations but also for showing respect and affection to a person, who is not a kinsmen. For instance, friends' wife may be called **ba:bi**; a friend's sister may be called **beni gə:sh, jigir** etc.



## Lexical Borrowings

9.0. In this section an attempt has been made to study Persian lexical borrowings in Kashmiri at different Linguistic levels. In the present study, Persian lexical borrowings include those lexical items also which are borrowed originally from Arabic into Persian. It is not certain that Arabic lexical items have been borrowed in Kashmiri only through Persian; there may have been certain instances of direct borrowing as well.

### 9.1. Phonology

Persian borrowed lexical items have undergone various phonological changes in Kashmiri. Some phonological changes of vowels and consonants are briefly discussed below.

#### 9.1.1. Vowel changes

The following vowel changes may be noted in the case of borrowed lexical items from Persian into Kashmiri :

Consonant clusters in the final position are broken by inserting vowels /i/or/u/ in borrowed lexical items. Examples :

| <i>Persian</i> | <i>Kashmiri</i> |           | <i>Persian</i> | <i>Kashmiri</i> |                        |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| darj           | darij           | 'include' | barg           | bərig           | 'leaf'                 |
| rasm           | rasim           | 'custom'  | sabz           | sabiz           | 'green'                |
| mard           | marid           | 'male'    | nazm           | nazim           | 'poem'                 |
| abr            | obur            | 'cloud'   | harf           | haruph          | 'a letter of alphabet' |

The lower-mid vowel /a/ changes into /ə/, and /o/ :

|      |       |         |       |       |          |
|------|-------|---------|-------|-------|----------|
| barg | bərig | 'leaf'  | mahal | məhal | 'palace' |
| abr  | obur  | 'cloud' |       |       |          |



The low central long vowel /a:/ changes into mid central vowel /ə:/ if it is followed by a consonant and the vowel /i/ or /i:/.

|          |          |                  |          |          |             |
|----------|----------|------------------|----------|----------|-------------|
| a:ba:bi: | a:bə:di: | 'population'     | ta:ri:kh | tə:ri:kh | 'date'      |
| a:jiz    | ə:jiz    | 'fed up'         | ta:ki:d  | tə:ki:d  | 'to insist' |
| ta:vi:z  | tə:vi:z  | 'amulet'         | xa:tir   | khə:tir  | 'treatment' |
| xa:li:   | khə:li:  | 'empty'          | ja:gi:r  | jə:gi:r  | 'estate'    |
| na:zir   | nə:zir   | 'an official'    | ma:lish  | mə:lish  | 'massage'   |
| ra:zi:   | rə:zi:   | 'willing'        | ha:zir   | hə:zir   | 'present'   |
| va:ris   | və:ris   | 'heir'           | xa:lis   | khə:lis  | 'only'      |
| xa:rish  | khə:rish | 'a skin disease' | galiban  | gə:liban | 'probably'  |

The low central long vowel /a:/ changes into high central vowel /i/ in the final position of words :

|            |           |               |            |            |            |
|------------|-----------|---------------|------------|------------|------------|
| ta:za:     | ta:zi     | 'fresh'       | ka:rxa:na: | ka:rkha:ni | 'factory'  |
| kharcā:    | kharcī    | 'expense'     | tama:sha:  | tama:shi   | 'a show'   |
| tarjama:   | tarjamī   | 'translation' | zila:      | zili       | 'district' |
| guma:shta: | guma:shti | 'clerk'       | parda:     | pardi      | 'veil'     |

Front vowels /i/ and /e/ change into /yi/ and /ye/ respectively in the initial position :

|         |            |               |          |           |          |
|---------|------------|---------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| isba:t  | yisba:th   | 'prove'       | itiha:d  | yitiha:d  | 'unity'  |
| itifa:q | yitipha:kh | 'chance'      | istima:l | yistima:l | 'use'    |
| imka:n  | yimka:n    | 'possibility' | e:tiba:r | ye:tiba:r | 'belief' |

The high back vowel /u/ changes into low back vowel /ɔ:/

|         |         |             |        |        |           |
|---------|---------|-------------|--------|--------|-----------|
| xuda:   | khoda:h | 'God'       | guna:  | gona:h | 'sin'     |
| muhta:j | mohta:j | 'needy'     | gula:m | gola:m | 'servant' |
| surma:  | sormi   | 'collyrium' | gula:b | gola:b | 'rose'    |

The high back vowel /u/ changes into /vɔ/ in the initial position :

|        |         |          |       |        |        |
|--------|---------|----------|-------|--------|--------|
| usta:d | vosta:d | 'master' | umi:d | vome:d | 'hope' |
|--------|---------|----------|-------|--------|--------|

The dipthong /au/ is replaced by the vowel /o:/ :

|        |        |               |      |      |          |
|--------|--------|---------------|------|------|----------|
| mauqa: | mo:ki  | 'opportunity' | daur | do:r | 'period' |
| naukar | no:kar | 'servant'     |      |      |          |



## 9.1.2. Consonant changes

The following changes in consonants may be noted in persian borrowed lexical items in Kashmiri :

The uvular stop /q/ is replaced by velar stop /k/ :

|        |        |          |          |         |           |
|--------|--------|----------|----------|---------|-----------|
| qad    | kad    | 'height' | qara:r   | kara:r  | 'rest'    |
| qalam  | kalam  | 'pen'    | naql     | nakil   | 'copy'    |
| maqa:m | muka:m | 'place'  | baqa:ya: | baka:yi | 'balance' |
| yaqi:n | yaki:h | 'belief' | burqa:   | burki   | 'veil'    |

The velar fricative /x/ is replaced by velar stop /kh/ :

|          |           |          |        |        |              |
|----------|-----------|----------|--------|--------|--------------|
| xa:rish  | khə:rish  | 'itch'   | xa:s   | kha:s  | 'particular' |
| xa:k     | kha:kh    | 'dust'   | xa:ka: | kha:ki | 'a sketch'   |
| xa:ki:   | khə:k     | 'dusty'  | xa:m   | kha:m  | 'raw'        |
| xa:mo:sh | kha:mo:sh | 'silent' | xabar  | khavar | 'news'       |
| xara:b   | khara:b   | 'bad'    | xush   | khosh  | 'glad'       |

The voiced velar fricative /g/ is replaced by velar stop /g/ :

|        |        |           |        |        |          |
|--------|--------|-----------|--------|--------|----------|
| gula:m | gola:m | 'servant' | gari:b | gari:b | 'poor'   |
| ba:g   | ba:g   | 'garden'  | gam    | gam    | 'sorrow' |
| gali:z | gəli:z | 'dirty'   | da:g   | da:g   | 'spot'   |

The voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ changes into voiceless aspirated bilabial stop /ph/ :

|        |         |           |        |          |           |
|--------|---------|-----------|--------|----------|-----------|
| afsar  | aphsar  | 'officer' | faqi:r | phaki:r  | 'beggar'  |
| daftar | daphtar | 'office'  | gaflat | gaphlath | 'neglect' |

The voiceless unaspirated dental stop /t/ is replaced by /th/ :

|          |           |            |          |           |              |
|----------|-----------|------------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| galat    | galath    | 'wrong'    | zahmat   | zəhmāth   | 'trouble'    |
| tija:rat | tija:rath | 'business' | minnat   | minath    | 'obligation' |
| a:dat    | a:dath    | 'habit'    | sharbat  | sharbath  | 'juice'      |
| eba:dat  | yeba:dath | 'prayer'   | hara:rat | hara:rath | 'heat'       |
| harkat   | harkath   | 'movement' | hazrat   | hazrath   | 'sir'        |

The voiceless unaspirated dental stop /t/ is replaced by /th/ :



|          |           |            |         |          |           |
|----------|-----------|------------|---------|----------|-----------|
| na:zuk   | no:zukh   | 'delicate' | shari:k | shari.kh | 'partner' |
| maza:k   | maza:kh   | 'joke'     | ca:la:k | ca:la:kh | 'clever'  |
| po:sha:k | po:sha:kh | 'dress'    | pa:k    | pa:kh    | 'pure'    |

The dental unaspirated voiced stop /d/ is inserted in the following examples :

|            |            |            |        |         |        |
|------------|------------|------------|--------|---------|--------|
| bara:bari: | bara:bardi | 'equality' | tanu:r | tandu:r | 'oven' |
|------------|------------|------------|--------|---------|--------|

The dental unaspirated stop /t/ is lost when it is preceded by alveolar fricative /s/ or palatal /sh/ :

|           |          |              |            |           |               |
|-----------|----------|--------------|------------|-----------|---------------|
| a:bgo:sht | a:bgo:sh | 'meat soup'  | ka:shtka:r | ka:shka:r | 'peasant'     |
| ya:da:sht | ya:da:sh | 'memory'     | mast       | mas       | 'intoxicated' |
| dastkhat  | daskhat  | 'signatures' | zabardast  | zabardas  | 'strong'      |

The bilabial semi-vowel /v/ is lost if it is preceded by a consonant :

|            |          |            |            |          |           |
|------------|----------|------------|------------|----------|-----------|
| darkhva:st | darkha:s | 'petition' | barkhva:st | barkha:s | 'adjourn' |
| khva:b     | kha:b    | 'dream'    |            |          |           |

The last consonant in a lexical item followed by a vowel /i:/ is palatalized and the vowel /i:/ is later dropped :

|        |        |         |           |          |             |
|--------|--------|---------|-----------|----------|-------------|
| ba:zi: | bə:z'  | 'game'  | sava:ri:  | savə:r'  | 'ride'      |
| kursi: | kuris' | 'chair' | nisha:ni: | nishə:n' | 'betrothal' |

## 9.2 Morphology

Two main devices of affixation and compounding of the Persianized Kashmiri word-formation are briefly indicated here.

### 9.2.1. Affixation

Affixation of the morphemes may be divided into two categories— (1) prefixation of morphemes and (2) suffixation of morphemes.

Persian prefix + Kashmiri stem :

be—(in the sense of 'without') : bepatsh 'untrustworthy',  
bezuv 'without life' beyati:r 'without manners.'



**ba:**—(in the sense of 'with') : ba:darim 'with religious piety'

**har**—(in the sense of 'every') : harka:nh 'every one', harja:yi 'every place'

**bad**—(in the sense of 'bad') : badza:th 'bad character'

**kam**—(in the sense of 'little') : kamza:n 'a little acquainted person'

**bar**—(in the sense of 'on') : barz'av 'on the tip of the tongue'  
Kashmiri prefix + Persian stem :

**ad** (in the sense of 'half') : adse:r 'half a seer' (a measure of weight)

Kashmiri stem + Persian suffix :

—**da:r** (in the sense of 'with') : lər'da:r 'with tail', chitida:r 'with prints'

Persian stem + Kashmiri suffix :

—**an** (locative case marker) : saha:ran 'in the early morning', sha:man 'in the evening'

—**as** (dative case marker used with m.s. subjects) : maridas 'to the male', əmi:ras 'to the rich'

—**i** (dative case marker used with feminine subject) : kita:bi 'to a book',

—**an** (agentive case marker used with m.s. subjects) : gəri:ban 'the poorman'

—**vo:l** (in the sense of 'the person who owns') : duka:nivo:l 'the owner of a shop', kita:bivo:l 'the owner of books'

—**pət** (indicates particular 'time') : sha:mipət 'in the evening'

—**tal** (in the sense of 'under') : nazarital 'under the sight'

—**gor** (indicates 'occupation') : nakshigor 'one who makes maps'

Persian provides model for deriving some grammatical forms in Kashmiri. Nouns of agency are formed at the Persian model by adding the suffixes —**gor** and —**ci:**. e.g.,

g'avangor 'one who sings', gindangor 'one who plays', nats-



angor 'one who dances', tabalci: 'one who plays on tabla',  
ə:phi:mci: 'one who is addicted to opium'

Suffix—gi is used to form abstract nouns. e.g.,

ga:nigi: 'the act of procurer', badmashigi: 'the act of a rogue'

Suffixes—ba:z, —mand and —za:di are used in forming modifiers from nouns. e.g.,

do:khi:ba:z 'deceitful', ca:l:da:z 'crafty', phə:ydi:mand 'useful'  
akilmānd 'wise', do:latmand 'rich', darza:di 'an offspring of Dars'.

Abstract nouns are formed from nouns of agency by adding i:.  
e.g.,

|         |           |           |                    |
|---------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|
| ma:star | 'teacher' | ma:srəri: | 'teachership'      |
| aphsar  | 'officer' | aphsari:  | 'officership'      |
| da:ktar | 'doctor'  | da:ktəri: | 'medical practice' |
| ci:n    | 'China'   | ci:ni:    | 'Chinese'          |

### 9.2.5. *Compounding*

There are many examples of compounds formed by the combination of Persian and Kashmiri words.

#### a. **Kashmiri + Persian word compounds :**

| Compound                            | Kashmiri         | Persian                |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| tsok a:tash 'sour'                  | tsok 'sour'      | a:tash 'fire'          |
| modur kand 'sweet'                  | modur 'sweet'    | kand 'a kind of sweet' |
| darim i:ma:n 'faith, creed'         | darim 'religion' | i:ma:n 'faith'         |
| soni marag 'name of a place'        | son 'gold'       | marag 'meadow'         |
| kruhun siya:h 'black'               | kruhun 'black'   | siya:h 'black'         |
| kə:m ka:r 'work'                    | kə:m 'work'      | ka:r 'work'            |
| ri:th riva:j 'rites and ceremonies' | ri:th 'rites'    | riva:j 'ceremony'      |



## b. Persian + Kashmiri word compounds

| Compound                            | Persian                | Kashmiri                 |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| bakhiti <b>bod</b> 'very fortunate' | bakht 'luck'           | bod 'big'                |
| di:n darim 'faith and creed'        | di:n 'religion' faith' | darim 'religion' 'faith' |
| saphe:d shi:n 'white like snow'     | saphe:d 'white'        | shi:n 'snow'             |
| mo:m bət 'a candle'                 | mo:m 'vax'             | bət 'a lamp'             |

## 9.3. Lexical Transfer

A large number of lexical items of Persian are transferred to Kashmiri and are used in the same sense as they are used in Persian. A partial list of such lexical items is given below :

ada: 'grace', adab 'literature', amba:r 'store', asli, 'real' andar 'inside' aya:sh 'luxurious', aiya:l 'family', agar 'if', anja:m 'result', a:ga:h 'acquainted' a:b 'water', a:smā:n 'sky', a:va:z 'sound' kaba:b 'roast meat' kam 'little', ka:r 'work' kamar 'waist', gaz 'a yard', gardan 'neck', gard 'dust' ca:plu:s 'flatterer', ja:n 'good', ja:nvar 'animal', java:n 'young' java:b 'reply', jaha:n 'world', jang 'quarrel', zarar 'harm', zamin 'land' zi:n 'saddle', tan 'body', tang 'tight', taba:h 'spoil', tama:m 'all', tasvi:r 'picture', dam 'breath', dasti: 'by hand', dala:l 'a broker', da:sta:n 'story', da:na: 'a wise person', da:man 'foot (of a mountain)' dil 'heart', di:da:r 'sight', dila:var 'brave', dushman 'enemy', du:r 'far', du:rbi:n 'a telescope', nazar 'sight', nar 'male', na:ci:z 'worthless', na:da:n 'ignorant', na:pasand 'displeasing', na.bu:d 'annihilated' na:bka:r 'useless', na:sa:z 'discordant', ni:m 'half', nu:r 'light' payvand 'grafting', pana:h 'shelter', palang 'a bed', pahalva:n 'wrestler', po:sha:k 'dress', bad 'bad', baha:r 'spring', ba:da:m almonds', ba:m 'roof', ba:r 'weight' ba:var 'believe', bisya:r 'many', magari 'but', majlis 'meeting', malmal 'fine cotton', ma:yu:s 'sad', ma:l 'wealth', meharba:n



'kind', me:z 'a table', ya:d 'memory', ya:r 'friend', rag 'vein', rang 'colour', rahbar 'a guide' ra:y 'judgement', 'idea', ra:n 'thigh', lashkar 'army', la:sh 'a dead body', varam 'swelling', vasi:h 'broad', vosu:l 'to receive', shab 'night', shabnam 'dew', shara:b 'liquor', sha:n 'glory', sha:m 'evening', sha:yad 'perhaps', sabab 'reason', sabzi: 'greenry', sarhad 'boundary', sava:b 'good deed', siya:h 'black' si:ma:b 'quick silver', hayva:n 'animal', had 'limit', hama:m 'bath' hamva:r 'level', hal 'solution', havas 'desire', hasad 'jealousy' etc.

#### 9.4. Semantic changes

A number of Persian borrowed lexical items in Kashmiri are semantically different in their use. In general, changes of meaning are of three types : expansion, contraction and totally different. For example :

| Persian   | Gloss               | Kashmiri   | Gloss         |
|-----------|---------------------|------------|---------------|
| alma:s    | diamond             | alma:s     | sharp         |
| a:shna:i: | acquaintance        | ə:shnə:yi: | relation      |
| kahva :   | coffee              | kəhvi      | kashmiri tea  |
| xala:s    | free                | khala:s    | sorry, free   |
| ga:v      | ox, cow             | ga:v       | cow           |
| zar       | gold                | zar        | money         |
| zang      | belt, rust          | zang       | leg, rust     |
| zabar     | above, a vowel sign | zabar      | right, good   |
| za:r      | weeping, groan      | za:r       | gambling      |
| tar       | wet, moist          | tar        | bud           |
| ta:b      | heat                | ta:b       | patience      |
| da:s      | sickle              | da:s       | threshold     |
| dali:l    | argument,           | dali:l     | matter, story |
|           | reason              |            |               |
| da:d      | justice             | da:d       | request       |



|            |                 |             |                       |
|------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| da:m       | snare, trap     | da:m        | sip                   |
| darba:r    | court           | darba:r     | office                |
| na:saza:   | improper        | na:saza:    | abuses                |
| nam        | dew moisture,   | nam         | a nail                |
| dargah     | court           | dargah      | shrine                |
| partau     | ray, light      | partav      | influence,            |
| ma:h       | month, moon     | ma:h        | a kiss                |
| rasad      | troop           | rasad       | ration                |
| lab        | lip, edge       | lab         | a wall                |
| sar        | head, top       | sar         | a pond                |
| sangi:n    | heavy           | sangi:n     | strong                |
| sa:n       | military prade  | sa:n        | with                  |
| su:d       | profit, benefit | su:d        | interest              |
| asba:b     | causes          | asba:b      | goods                 |
| a:m        | well known      | a:m         | common                |
| bandgi:    | slavery         | bandgi:     | worship               |
| buxa:r     | steam           | bukha:r     | fever                 |
| daftar     | book, file      | daphtar     | office                |
| dariya:    | sea             | dəriya:v    | river                 |
| haja:mat   | scarification   | haja:math   | hair-cutting          |
| haki:m     | philosopher     | haki:m      | physician             |
| i:ma:nda:r | faithful        | yi:ma:nda:r | honest                |
| jalu:s     | sitting         | jalu:s      | procession            |
| ka:nu:ngo  | lawyer          | ka:nu:ngo:  | a revenue<br>official |
| xasam      | enemy           | hasam       | husband               |
| lifa:fa:   | wrapper         | lipha:phi   | envelope              |
| naql       | change          | nak:l       | copy                  |
| pa:band    | foot tied       | pa:band     | punctual              |



|          |                 |            |               |
|----------|-----------------|------------|---------------|
| rasu:x   | firmness        | rasu:kh    | influence     |
| sa:fa:   | filtering cloth | sa:phi     | turban        |
| silsila: | chain           | silsili    | connection    |
| sirf     | pure            | siriph     | only          |
| tafsi:l  | distance        | ta:phi:sil | details, list |
| tarki:b  | mixture         | tarki:b    | method        |
| vaki:l   | agent           | vaki:l     | lawyer        |
| zabt     | control         | zabit      | confiscation  |
| zulm     | darkness        | zulim      | cruelty       |

#### 9.4. Registers

Three main types of registers of Persianized Kashmiri have developed : 1. Register of Religion, 2. Register of Law and 3. Register of Business. These registers are highly influenced by the borrowing of a number of lexical items from Persian.

##### 9.4.1. *Register of Religion*

A number of lexical items borrowed from the Persian language are used in the religious register of Muslims.

Examples :

kabar (qabr), 'a grave', kərba:n (qorba:n) 'sacrifice', k'obul (qibla:) 'facing towards Mecca', khoda:h (xuda:) 'God', gona:h (gunah) 'sin', janath (janat) 'paradize', z'a:rath (ziya:rat) 'visit to a holy place', tə:ziyath (ta:ziyat) 'to visit a bereaved family', tə:vi:z (ta:vi:z) 'an amulet', to:bu:d (ta:bu:d) 'coffin', tasbih 'beads used for saying prayers', yima:m (ima:m) 'leader in prayers', yi:ma:n (ima:n) 'faith', di:n 'religion', duva:h (dua:) 'prayer', dasgi:r 'a holy man', darga:h (dargah) 'shrine', do:zuxh (do:zax) 'hell', naja:th (naja:t) 'liberation', n'ama:z (nima:z) 'prayers', niya:z 'holy offerings', nabi: 'a prophet', nika:h 'marriage', pa:kh(pa:k) 'pure, holy' phərishtə (farish ta:) 'angel', parvardigār 'God',



paigambar (paigambar) 'prophet', pi:r 'a saint' bihisht (bihisht) 'paradise', mazhab 'religion', masjid 'mosque' raham 'pity', roz:zi (roz:za:) 'fast' rəsul (rasu:l) 'prophet', rab 'God', vozu: 'ablution', shara:h (shara:;) 'religious law' sənath (sunnat) 'circumcision', hazrath (hazrat) 'prophet' haj 'pilgrimage to Mecca',

#### 9.4.2 Register of law

The following Persian borrowed lexical items in the register of law are frequently used in judicial contexts :

ada:vat 'enmity', ada:lath (ada:lat) 'court', arzi:nəvi:s (arzi:nəvi:s) 'a petition writer' agvah (agva:) 'kidnap', khə:rij (xa:rij) 'dismissed' gavah 'witness', girav (girvi:) 'mortgage', jarah 'discussion', java:b da:va: 'reply of suit', təhsi:l 'a sub division' jurma:nə (jurma:na:) 'penalty', zama:nath (zama:nat) 'bail', tə:ri:kh (ta:ri:x) 'date of hearing', ta:mi:l 'service of warrant', tasphi: (tasfiya:) 'compromise', tasdi:kh (tasdi:q) 'attestation', daphah (dafa:) 'section', da:va: 'law suit', dasta:ve:z 'document', nə:yib (na:yib) 'an official' pi:shi: (pe:shi:) 'hearing', pe:shka:r 'a court clerk', phara:r 'absconder', phə:slə (fa:sla:) 'judgement', baha:l (baha:li:) 'reinstatement' mudəyi 'applant', bara:mad 'found', bari: 'acquitted', bana:m 'versus', baya:n 'statement' ba:lig (ba:lig) 'adult', yinsa:ph (insa:f) 'justice', yikra:rna:mə (yikra:rna:ma:) 'bond', muda:l 'defender', mansu:kh (manso:x) 'cancelled', mulzim 'accused', ma:vzi 'compensation', manzu:r 'acceptance', misal 'file', yishra:m pharo:sh 'court stamp vender' yijla:s 'meeting', yistiga:s 'suit', sura:g 'clue', vaki:l 'a lawyer', sabu:t 'proof', vaka:lath (vaka:lat) 'law profession', shaha:dath (shaha:dat) 'evidence' vaka:lathna:mə (vaka:latna:ma:) 'a legal statement', rishvath (rishvat) 'bribe', rasi:d 'receipt', və:ris (va:ris) 'legal heir', shərat 'condition', və:zi:r 'a minister', vaza:rath (vaza:rat) 'ministry', hira:sath (hira:sath) 'custody', hukum 'order', ha:h (haq) 'right', ha:ziri:



·presence', harja:ni (harja:na:) 'compensation' giriphta:r (girfta:r) 'arrest'.

#### 9.4.3. *Register of Business*

The following lexical items borrowed from Persian are used in the register of business :

karzi (qarza:) 'debt', kipa:yath (kifa:yat) 'reduction', kira:yi (kira:ya:) 'rent', kirya:ni (kirya:na:) 'grocery', to:li (tola:) 'a measurement of weight' tija:rath (tija:rat) 'trade' takhsi:m (taqsi:m) 'division', tho:k 'wholesale' darjan 'a dozen', na:p 'measurement', nokhsa:n (nuqsa:n) 'loss', pa:v 'a measurement', payma:ni (payma:na:) 'a measuring pot', pha:ydi (pha:yda:) 'profit' bara:t 'a bill of exchange', ma:shi (ma:sha:) 'a measurement', ha:sil (ha:sil) 'balance obtained', guma:shti (guma:shta:.) 'agent', andra:j 'entry', rasi:d 'receipt', ro:zna:mci (ro:zna:mca:) 'daily account book', sasti (sasta:) 'cheap' se:r 'a measurement', su:d 'interest'.



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# Errata

| <i>Page</i> | <i>Line</i> | <i>Incorrect</i> | <i>Correct</i> |
|-------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| 13          | 20          | həs              | kəs            |
| 16          | 13          | en               | kenh           |
|             | 21,23       | co-occurence     | co-occurrence  |
| 18          | 9           | ləkur            | ləkur          |
| 25          | 8           | lədir            | ledir          |
| 34          | 17          | Eampls           | Examples       |
| 35          | 16          | shieli           | shi:li         |
| 36          | 14          | sffix            | suffix         |
| 39          | 22          | ləkɪr            | ləkɪr'         |
| 41          | 1           | wit              | with           |
| 48          | 13          | sype             | type           |
|             | 26          | 2nd causat       | 2nd causal     |
| 49          | 11          | sh:lan           | shi:lan        |
|             | 11, 12, 20  | Shiea            | Shiela         |
|             | 12          | shi:l            | shi:li         |
|             | 13          | chalɪnə:v        | chalɪnə:v'     |
|             | 23          | 8                | to be deleted  |
|             | 25-28       | 9,10,11,12       | 8,9,10,11      |
|             | 30          | emedded          | embedded       |
| 50          | 9           | vachuth          | vuchuth        |
| 51          | 19          | o:sm'            | o:snɪ          |
|             | 20          | phikri           | phikri         |
| 52          | 12          | pat:a            | pata:          |
|             | 18          | Gomplement       | Complement     |
|             | 19          | teneless         | tenseless      |



| <i>Page</i> | <i>Line</i> | <i>Incorrect</i> | <i>Correct</i>          |
|-------------|-------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| 52          | 28          | pronun           | pronoun                 |
| 55          | 9           | tee              | tse                     |
|             | 23          | Thc              | The                     |
|             | 27          | followcd         | followed                |
|             | 33          | shr              | shur                    |
| 56          | 24          | k':a:zi          | k'a:zi                  |
| 58          | 12          | strueture        | structure               |
| 60          | 15          | Par              | par                     |
| 61          | 10          | early            | easily                  |
| 62          | 1           | possible         | possible<br>derivations |
| 64          | 17          | Svnita           | Sunita                  |
|             | 30          | gu:l'            | gu:l' tɪ                |
| 70          | 9           | vus              | yus                     |
| 71          | 12          | temis            | təmis                   |
| 72          | 3           | təm'             | *təm'                   |
| 73          | 14          | naration         | narration               |
| 76          | 9           | /p/ and /ph/     | to be deleted           |
| 76          | 26          | voth             | v-oth                   |
| 80          | 12          | suffixes         | prefixes                |
| 83          | 1           | prefixes         | prefix                  |
| 85          | 1           | anihi:r'         | an'hi:r'                |
|             | 23          | women            | woman                   |



















